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AMOR Y RABIA

UNA PUBLICACION MENSUAL
ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA

Mayday 29 Libre- Página 2

Día Internacional de la Mujer

ANARQUISTA REVOLUCIONARIA

Día Internacional de la Mujer

ECOND
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ROC

¡VICTORIA!
PARA "MAYDAY 29"
EN DEFENSA DEL ESPACIO PUBLICO

"La excusa más absurda de la ley y la autoridad es que sirven para disminuir el crimen."

Emma Goldman

POR LISA NOVACEK

EL CASO QUE PARECÍA INTERMInable finalmente ha sido cerrado. Después de pasar un largo verano sin muchas victorias en la lucha por mantener abierto el Parque Tompkins Square (TSP), el movimiento de Ocupación y los Sin Techo que trabajan en Loisaida (Lower East Side) en la ciudad de Nueva York tienen motivo para celebrar.

Después de cuatro meses en la corte, acusados a un costo aproximado de un millón de dolarés para el Estado, los veredictos para "Los 29 del Día del Trabajo" (May Day 29) demostraron que los esfuerzos de la Ciudad de Nueva York y del Departamento de Policía por perseguir a los activistas políticos no fueron lo poderoso que ellos esperaban.

"Los 29 del Día del Trabajo" es un grupo de personas que fueron arrestadas la noche del primero de mayo de 1990 después del Cuarto Festival Anual "Resistir para Existir" que tuvo lugar en el Parque Tompkins Square. El concierto comenzó como una celebración del barrio con la participación de artistas, músicos y poetas, pero terminó inesperadamente con el ataque de la policía golpeando en el escenario a todo el que se encontraba a su paso, empujando a algunos contra el equipo y tirando a otros del escenario. La policía justificó su "intervención" con el pretexto de que la última banda se había pasado diez minutos de las 9 PM, hora límite para terminar el concierto. Veintiocho personas fueron arrestadas esa noche y uno más, dos semanas después por agentes encubiertos (Ver *Amor y Rabia*, Año 1, No.3, junio 1990, para más información sobre el motín) la mayoría de los arrestados eran conocidos activistas involucrados en la lucha por el Parque Tompkins Square, y los demás eran vecinos del area que cayeron durante la redada policiaca. A muchos de los acusados les redujeron los cargos a delitos de menor cuantía, pero los cinco que enfrentaron cargos de mayor cuantía mantuvieron su inocencia en todo, aunque tres encararon cargos menores. El juicio de "Los 29" probó ser igual que la mayoría de los juicios políticos, donde a los acusados no se le permite introducir evidencias que puedan probar su inocencia o sacar a relucir las pruebas circunstanciales que usaría la fiscalía.

Para enmarcar el juicio de "Los 29" dentro de una perspectiva histórica,es interesante repasar los eventos que han tenido lugar alrededor del primero de mayo de 1886, la primera protesta en celebración del Día del Trabajo. Aunque el medio político sea diferente y las tácticas varien, la forma en que el Estado actua intentando reprimir a un movimiento (mediante la intimidación a algunas personas que la policía considera organizadores peligrosos) no ha cambiado mucho desde entonces.

El movimiento por una jornada de trabajo de ocho horas había crecido. El primero de mayo, decenas de miles de trabajadores se declararon en huelga en boca. Tres permanecieron en prision. La ejecución provocó la ira internacional; veinticinco mil personas marcharon en el funeral en Chicago.

Algunas pruebas llevaron más tarde a la conclusión de que un hombre llamado Rudolph Schnaubelt, presunto anarquista, quien realmente era un agente provocador, lanzó la bomba para provocar el a- rresto de cientos y destruir cualquier movimiento revolucionario en Chicago. Hasta el momento no se ha descubierto quien lanzó la bomba. Con este evento, los efectos inmediatos fueron la represión del movimiento radical, los efectos a largo plazo, fueron mantener viva la furia de toda una clase y la inspiración de otros. Estas tácticas son tan viejas como la palabra opresión. Actualmente, más de cien años después, la política del "encarcelamiento arbitrario" de los organizadores políticos se mantiene en pie e igual que antaño y las cortes continuan siendo usadas como herramientas para aplastar e intimidar a estos activistas. Aunque ninguna bomba fué lanzada el primero de mayo de 1990, el Fiscal del Distrito y la policía trataron de convertir a las botellas voladoras en bombas. El movimiento involucrado en la lucha por el Parque Tompkins Square ha sido una dolorosa espina para la ciudad de Nueva York y ellos creen que sacando del camino a los activistas y aterrorizando a la comunidad aliviarán este dolor. La realidad es que el movimiento es diverso y no esta lidereado por un pequeño grupo de personas y por lo tanto no les es fácil desaparecerlo.

La tónica del juicio estuvo dominada por los argumentos.Surreal sería la palabra para describir este juicio.

La acusada Lori Rizzo, mientras realizaba su auto-defensa, expuso de manera

(una botella) y fué declarado inocente en ambos cargos.

Kurby aclaró al jurado que la policía tenía muchos prejuicios e ignoraba las ideas de los acusados y las de la lucha por el Parque Tompkins Square.

El Fiscal continuó poniendo etiquetas como "quemabanderas," "comunistas" y esgrimiendo ridículos argumentos como "John ondeaba la bandera ROJA de la anarquía," evidenciando que la única esperanza que tenía el estado de dominar al jurado era manipulando estos posibles prejuicios. Kurby intentó explicar a la corte que existen diferencias entre Comunismo y Anarquismo, pero cualquier discución al respecto fué repetidamente censurada.

Uno de los más ironicos sucesos en el juicio, fué el caso de Tom, un residente de la barriada que no estuvó en el concierto ni esta involucrado en ninguno de los movimientos relacionados con el Parque Tompkins Square, quien recibió cargos por desorden en segundo grado y posesión ilegal de un arma. El jurado no llegó a un veredicto dejando el caso pendiente.

Anthony, inculpado por desorden y posesión ilegal de un arma (otra botella), fué declarado culpable de ambos cargos, pero como en aquel entonces solo tenía diecisiete años, es muy probable que reciba cinco años de libertad condicional y preste servicios comunitarios, sin tener que pasar ningún tiempo en la cárcel. Los testimonios de la policía fueron tan acusatorios como ridículos. El Fiscal Connolly, cometió un error al pensar que podía tratar al jurado como si todos tuvieran poca inteligencia. Quizás, él pensó que como millones de norteamericanos, ellos también creerían que "muchos policías son nuestros heroes y protectores" al igual que en los programas de televisión que contaminan nuestros hogares.

Este juicio, ha sido una forma muy efectiva aunque desagradable, de aprender sobre como funciona el sistema de los E.U.A. y que tan eficientemente el sistema legal puede llegar a ser manipulado por el Estado. Como dijo Kenny, "eso de que no digas ni una palabra hasta que no te hayan leído tus derechos es MIERDA, de todas maneras no tenemos ningún derecho."

Amor y Rabia es realizado por la Red Amor y Rabia, un grupo de personas comprometidas, las cuales estan de acuerdo en línea general con la Declaración Política de Amor y Rabia y contribuyen con su tiempo, dinero y energía para que *Amor y Rabia* sea una realidad. Las pricipales decisiones y la política general se determinan cuando la red se reune en conferencia, una vez al año aproximadamente. Las decisiones interinas, menos importantes (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia) las toma el Concejo de la Red, integrado por personas de diferentes regiones que se reunen varias veces al año. Cualquier grupo verdaderamente interesado en el proyecto puede mandar dos delegados a las reuniones del Concejo de la Red. Las decisiones que requieren acción inmediata (de acuerdo con las decisiones de la Conferencia y el Concejo de la Red) las toma el Grupo de Coordinación electo, que consulta con el Grupo de Producción (GP) por teléfono y por correo. Dianamente las decisiones son hechas por el GP, residente en la ciudad de Nueva York, donde se publica el periódico. En algunas ciudades y regiones, simpatizantes de *Amor y Rabia* se

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El tres y el cuatro de mayo una serie de eventos tuvieron lugar poniendo a Parsons y Spies exactamente en la posición que "El Correo" había sugerido. Aquel día, frente a la "McCormick Harvester Works," donde los huelguistas y sus simpatizantes pelearon contra los rompe huelgas, la policía disparó hacia la multitud, matando a cuatro. Esta acción por parte de la policía llevó a Spies a imprimir volantes pidiendo venganza y llamando a los trabajadores a las armas. Fué convocado un mitín en la Plaza Haymarket para la tarde del cuatro de mayo, alrededor de tres mil personas asistieron. Cuando el mitín casi finali-

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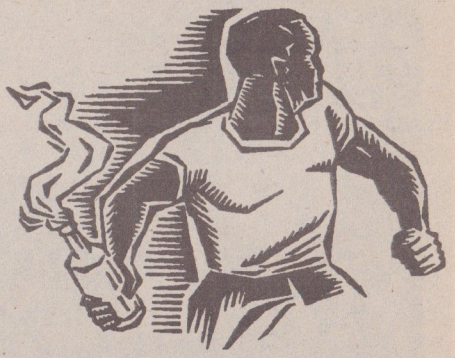

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Aviso Aburrido

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todo el país. En Chicago, donde la mayoría de las industrias fueron paralizadas por la huelga, la milicia del Estado estuvo preparada y la policía lista para intervenir. *El Correo*, un périodico de Chicago, pidió que Albert Parsons y August Spies, los organizadores anarquistas de la Asociación Internacional de Trabajadores, fueran vigilados. "Mantengalos en la mira," "Haganlos responsables de cualquier poblema," "Ejemplaricen con ellos si algo ocurre," se leía en los editoriales de *El Correo*.

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Sin prueba alguna de quien lanzó la bomba, la policía arrestó a ocho anarquistas en Chicago. Las leyes de Illinois decían que la persona que incitara a asesinar era culpable de asesinato. Las pruebas usadas en contra de los ocho anarquistas fueron sus ideas y su literatura; ninguno de ellos estuvo en la Plaza Haymarket ese día con la excepción de Fielden, quien estaba hablando en el momento que la bomba explotó. Un jurado los encontró culpables y los condenó a muerte. Sus apelaciones fueron denegadas; la Corte Suprema dijo que no tenía juridicción.

Cuatro de ellos fueron ahorcados y uno se suicidó en su celda, haciendo explotar un cartucho de dinamita en su concisa fuertes argumentos. El Fiscal Connolly, objetaba a cada palabra de la acusada. El Juez Failla, desde un principio peleó por silenciar cualquier palabra de Lori que aludiera temas relacionados con los Ocupas, los Sin Techo o todo lo concerniente a la lucha por el Parque Tompkins Square. Lori en su auto-defensa, fué enérgica interrogando al jurado, que parecía estar de su parte, pero era evidente que el Fiscal del Distrito y el Juez hacían todo lo posible por dificultarle sus esfuerzos. Ella continuó su auto-defensa por casi cuatro semanas hasta que decidieron que su abogada Susan Tipograph prosiguiera el caso, Lori comentó: " He decidido que tengo que elegir entre hacer escuchar mi caso o ir a la cárcel". Lori, es una de las más conocidas activistas en Loisiada, acusada por desordene incitación al desorden, resultando inocente de ambos cargos.

Kenny, inculpado por los mismos cargos, parecía ser el plato principal del voraz Fiscal del Distrito, que trató de pintar a Kenny como uno de los "líderes" por arengar al público y de ser capaz de inducir a la multitud a un desorden frenético o según la policía conver-tirlos en una "manada de ratas". El abogado de Kenny, James Roth, sostuvo que Kenny no habló por el micrófono esa noche y que tampoco incitó a la multitud al desorden, sino que simplemente bailaba en el escenario junto a los músicos de "Spy vs. Spy," la última presentación de la noche.

Kenny resultó inocente del cargo por desorden y encontrado culpable de incitar al desorden, cargo menor que apelará en el futuro.

John, quien también fuera declarado no culpable de los cargos, fué el único que no resultó arrestado la noche del primero de mayo. Su arresto se realizó dos semanas más tarde (mayo 18) por el oficial John Licari, un agente encubierto "anti-crimen", durante la primera protesta después de la revuelta

Ron Kuby, (representante de John) durante su interrogatorio al oficial Licari,mantuvo todo el tiempo al Fiscal del Distrito muy ocupado objetando;las preguntas de Kuby debieron haber provocado algunas interrogantes a los miembros del jurado. John, recibió cargos por desorden y posesión criminal de un arma

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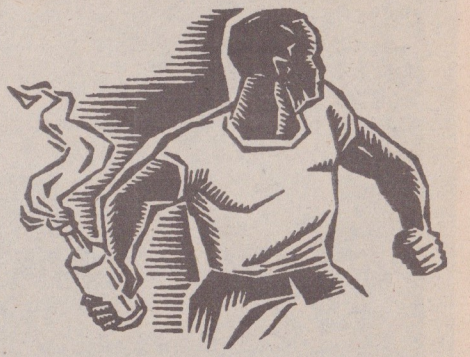

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EL MACHISMO EN MEXICO

-Una cuenta por saldar

POR ANA L. HERNANDEZ (DESDE MÉXICO)

CUANDO SE HABLA DE SEXISMO, patriarcado, machismo, derechos reproductivos, emancipación de la mujer y su problemática actual, vienen a la mente una infinidad de artículos, folletos, tesis, libros, discursos, debates y charlas que han generado estos temas, desarrollados desde todas las ópticas ideológicas habidas y por haber. Este artículo pretende desde un enfoque anarco-feminista centrarse en estos temas a partir de las vivencias y experiencias en la escena del México lindo y machista.

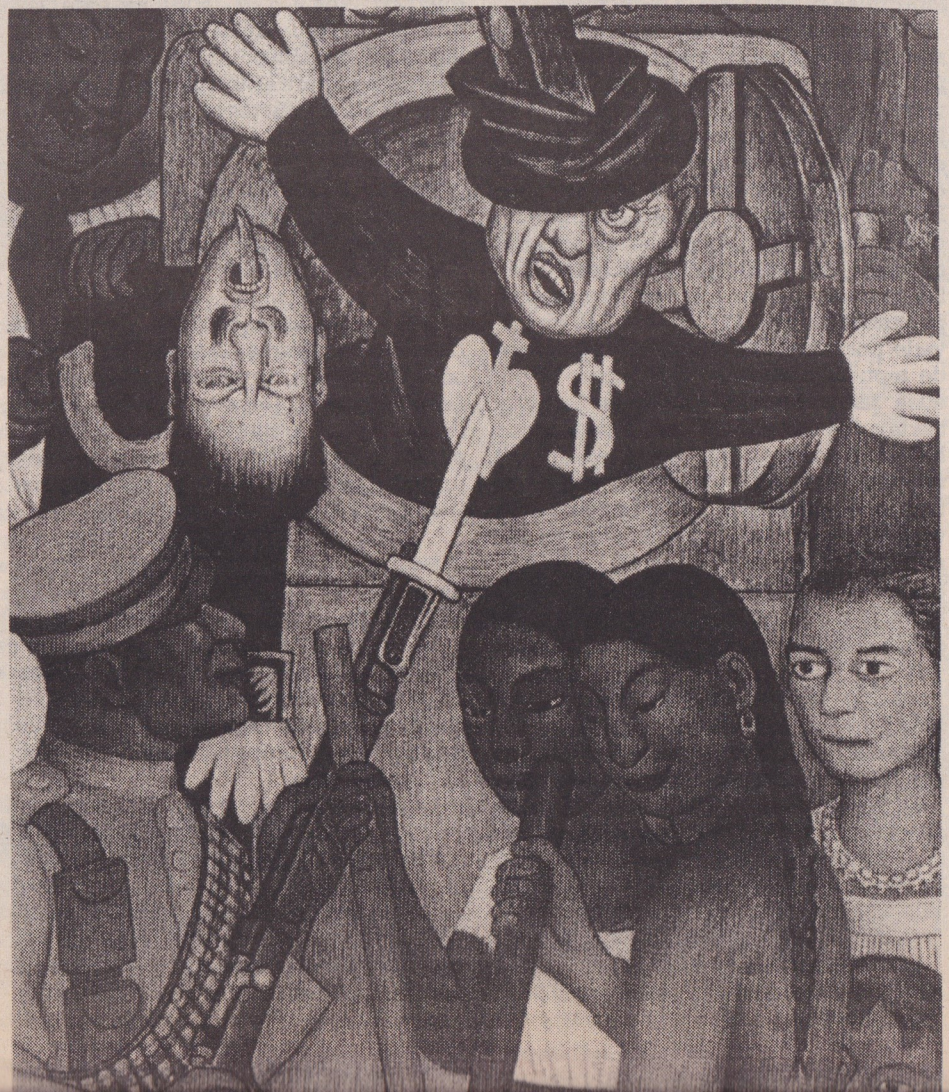
Para empezar, debemos tener en cuenta que hay temas que son tabú en la sociedad mexicana y aún en el movimiento alternativo; palabras como sexismo, homofobia, patriarcado, entre otras, no son comunes en el lenguaje, no se discuten, ni se aplican en la praxis cotidiana.

Desafortunadamente en los sectores donde se supone que hay interés por cambiar la situación del ser humano existe poca o ninguna discusión profunda, indispensable para un cambio real en la sociedad que criticamos y para el surgimiento de la nueva que buscamos.

Una de las principales causas de esta ceguera es el machismo institucionalizado que a lo largo de la historia se ha arraigado en nuestras mentes y se manifiesta a través de cada una de las actitudes de nuestra vida diaria.

Vivimos en medio de una sociedad patriarcal que se extiende a lo largo y ancho del planeta, en cualquier lugar del mundo (en mayor o menor escala) se palpa la autoridad del "macho" sobre los demás seres vivientes de la tierra.

Si nos remontamos en la historia latinoamericana encontraremos que en las sociedades nativas prehispánicas el machismo ya se manifestaba en el trato a la y de la victoria del invasor era inaceptable y aquí, es cuando surge una de las más fuertes concepciones misóginas que arrastra el pueblo mexicano: culpan a la Malinche, (guía y traductora de Hernán Cortés) considerada la mujer traidora, de la derrota al imperio azteca.



españoles eran hombres a diferencia de los invasores ingleses, que emigraron en colonias enteras por lo que, los españoles no solo necesitarian a la población nativa para utilizarla en la explotación de las riquezas de la tierra invadida sino a la mujer nativa, la cual por parte de los hombres de su propio pueblo: la mujer doblemente sometida.

Con la guerra de independencia (1810) no se logra ningún hecho emancipador o liberador, unicamente se produce un rompimiento con la corona española donde los criollos (hijos/as de españoles nacidos en las colonias) y el clero de la ex-colonia asumen el poder político y administrativo, heredando los valores patriarcales y encargandose de mantenerlos en la naciente nación. La mujer, los mestizos y los pueblos nativos quedan sometidos a la nueva clase dominante, permaneciendo en las mismas condiciones: humillados, pobres y desposeídos. No es hasta cien años después, con el estallido de la revolución (1910) que cobran fuerza todos estos humillados y desposeídos tomando lugar en la lucha por sus derechos. Es por eso, que la participación de la mujer juega un papel importante en la lucha revolucionaria del México insurrecto; sin embargo, el caudillismo y el machismo superlativo de los líderes, relegan su rol al de las "Adelitas" (mujeres que participaron en la lucha armada, llamadas despectivamente soldaderas), reconociendo solamente su heroicidad como la esposa o mujer abnegada que estaba junto a su hombre en todo momento, siguiendolo hasta en la lucha. Como resultado de esta "revolución" no se obtuvo una emancipación real que diera paso a una sociedad liberada, lamentablemente triunfan los viejos valores disfrazados de ideas revolucionarias y no el programa libertario y las ideas anarquistas fuertemente arraigadas al movimiento revolucionario.

En esos tiempos de contiendas "revolucionarias", surge un personaje intimamente relacionado con el machismo mexicano: el charro. Estereotipo que representa el máximo exponente del sexismo. Paradójicamente aparece asociado con la imagen del combatiente "revolucionario"; el hombre violento, con grandes sombreros, pistolas, borracho y con muchas mujeres a su disposición. Situaciones similares se produjeron a lo largo de América Latina y encontramos homólogos del charro en cada uno de sus pueblos; por exemplo, el "gaucho" argentino.

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En el sometimiento del pueblo azteca (guerrero por excelencia, regido y dirigido por sacerdotes y jefes gerreros con un emperador a la cabeza elegido por mandato divino) la idea de la derrota a la Malinche, (guía y traductora de Hernán Cortés) considerada la mujer traidora, de la derrota al imperio azteca.

Hay acontecimientos que explican las diferentes actitudes entre las sociedades latinoamericana y norteamericana (EU y Canadá) hacia la mujer. Ambos invasores (españoles e ingleses) reprodujeron sus respectivos patrones patriarcales y cometieron sangrientos genocidios.Los primeros invasores sería explotada y usada por los invasores, convirtiendo así a hispanoamérica en mestiza mientras que norteamérica se convertiría en "blanca." La violación y el abuso de la mujer sumado a la subyugación de los nativos y a la impotencia frente al invasor, provocan la discriminación y el rechazo hacia la mujer población nativa para utilizarla en la explotación de las riquezas de la tierra invadida sino a la mujer nativa, la cual nante, permaneciendo en las mismas condiciones: humillados, pobres y desposeídos. No es hasta cien años después, con el estallido de la revolución (1910) que cobran fuerza todos estos humillados y desposeídos tomando lugar en la lucha por sus derechos. Es por eso, que la participación de la mujer juega un papel importante en la lucha revolucionaria del México insurrecto; sin embargo, el caudillismo y el machismo superlativo de los líderes, relegan su rol al de las "Adelitas" (mujeres que participaron en la lucha armada, llamadas despectivamente soldaderas), reconociendo solamente su heroicidad como la esposa o mujer abnegada que estaba junto a su hombre en todo momento, siguiendolo hasta en la lucha. Como resultado de esta "revolución" no se obtuvo una emancipación real que diera paso a una sociedad liberada, lamentablemente triunfan los viejos valores disfrazados de ideas revolucionarias y no el programa libertario y las ideas anarquistas fuertemente arraigadas al movimiento revolucionario.

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Amor y Rabia es una publicación mensual anarquista revolucionaria que intenta fomentar el activismo revolucionario anti-autoritario en Norteamérica y construir un movimiento anarquista mejor organizado. Proveeremos cobertura sobre luchas sociales, eventos mundiales, acciones anarquistas y brotes de resistancia. Apoyaremos las luchas de los oprimidos alrededor del mundo por el control de sus propias vidas. El anarquismo ofrece la más profunda crítica a la jerarquía y a la dominación, haciendo posible un armazón para la unidad de todas las luchas por la liberación. Tratamos de entender los sistemas bajo los cuales vivimos mediante nuestro propio análisis y rechazamos cualquier ideología pre-enlatada. El anarquismo es un cuerpo viviente teórico-práctico, conectado directamente a las experiencias de los oprimidos que luchan por su propria liberación. Anticipamos la revisión constante y radical de nuestras ideas como parte necesaria de cualquier proceso revolucionario.

Amor y Rabia es Revolucionario

Apoyamos el derrocamiento de toda forma de relaciones sociales autoritarias y la creación de una sociedad basada en la cooperción, en la solidaridad y la ayuda mutua. Reconocemos que la revolución social solo puede hacerla realidad la mayoría oprimida de la humanidad mediante un movimiento auto-gestionario. Apoyamos la utilización de cualquier medio necesario para emancipar a la humanidad y alcanzar así el fin de la guerra, de la pobreza, del hambre, y de la miseria generada por el actual sistema. Apoyamos el uso de tácticas diversas contra el actual sistema y para el desarollo de una revolución social.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-estatista

Nos oponemos a todos los Estados (gobiernos) sin distinción de ideologías. El objeto del Estado es mantener y regular todas las formas de dominación. El Estado tiene el monopolio de la violencia legal y organizada: la policía, el ejército y el sistema de prisiones, imponiendo la organización de la sociedad. Nos oponemos al sistema de inmigración y al intento de control del libre movimiento de los pueblos atraves de las fronteras. Creemos que la gente puede organizar sus vidas y sus comunidades. Esta auto-organización puede hacer que el pueblo tome el control de las funciones que ahora dependen del Estado.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-capitalista

Apoyamos todas las formas de resistencia a la dominación capitalista - resistencia traducida en huelgas, luchas obreras, la ocupación de edificaciones (squatting), huelgas contra los alquileres y luchas por el control comunitario de los recursos. Deseamos la transformación total de la producción y el consumo en una economía cooperativa y a favor de la vida, que además sea decentralizada, equitativa, fluida , experimental y controlada por los que participan en ella.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-racista

Apoyamos la autodeterminación de todas las comunidades de color. Luchamos contra la supremacía blanca y trabajamos por una sociedad que respete la diversidad cultural. Conocemos la opresión específica que existe hacia el afroamericano, desde épocas de la esclavitud hasta el presente. Luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación del pueblo negro en los Estados Unidos. Sabemos que las bases de la sociedad racista de hoy son el genocido y la asimilación forzada del pueblo indígena. Apoyamos la conservación de las tradiciones culturales y los derechos a la tierra de los nativoamericanos. Luchamos por erradicar el imperialismo cultural. Nos oponemos al racismo anti-semita. Apoyamos la autodeterminación de Québec y el fin de la opresión contra el francofono en Norteamérica. Nos organizamos contra el racismo del los "skinheads", el "klan," los nazis y el terror policial. Reconocemos el racismo implícito en la dominación y la explotación económica, política y militar del llamado "tercer mundo." Luchamos por crear una sociedad donde la gente pueda sentirse segura, respetada y no amenazada por el racismo.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-imperialista

La sociedad por la que luchamos celebrará la belleza de la diversidad humana, honrará la tierra y reconocerá las contribuciones sociales y culturales de la comunidad humana hecha por la mayoría de los habitantes del planeta: el pueblo de color. Para crear esta sociedad, la humanidad tiene que derrocar la que ha sido impuesta sobre el planeta por una minoría mediante la fuerza, una sociedad que ha esclavizado a la mayoría de los pobladores del planeta para el enriquecimiento de pocos. Esto incluye, no solo la dominación del capital occidental, sino toda forma de imperialismo estatal. Apoyamos la lucha de todos los pueblos oprimidos y explotados, por la autodeterminación y liberación de la dominación extranajera o doméstica. Además, también apoyamos críticamente la lucha de todas las naciones menos poderosas contra el control y el abuso imperialista.

Amor y Rabia es Anti-sexista

Rechazamos el patriarcado y luchamos por la liberación y la autodeterminación de todas las mujeres. Esto incluye la incuestionable libertad de elección reproductiva y una más accesible atención médica y de cuidado para todas sin exclusión. Reconocemos que la violencia sexual y el abuso son necesarios para la continuación del funcionamiento del Estado. El Estado no resolverá nuestros problemas.

Reconocemos la responsabilidad de los hombres para lograr un cambio en sí mismos y terminar por siempre el patriarcado. Reconocemos la fuerza de la mujer y nos regocijamos por ello.

Amor y Rabia Apoya la Libre Determinación Sexual

Rechazamos la autoritaria heterosexualidad de la familia patriarcal y la tradicional adopción de roles sexuales y apoyamos los esfuerzos por promover una pluralidad de relaciones humano-sexuales en su justa proporción. Esto incluye la liberación de homosexuales, bisexuales, lesbianas y travestis.

Amor y Rabia No Discrimina las Edades

Las manifestaciones del generacionalismo toman lugar, desde la opresión a la juventud hasta las problemáticas de las personas ancianas, de todo aquel que es marginado y alienado por su edad en esta sociedad. Nuestra idea de liberación esta en constante desarrollo y no puede resumirse en un solo párrafo. Por lo tanto, esta debe ser discutida en todos sus aspectos en nuestro periódico, así como a través de nuestras vidas. Estos temas no deberan construir las reglas de un juego a seguir, sino que deberan debatirse en artículos relevantes en las páginas de la Federación de Jovenes Anarquistas (Anarchist Youth Federation - AYF) y en cualquier otro lugar donde sea necesario.

Amor y Rabia es Eco-anarquista

Todas las formas de vida estan interconectadas. Rechazamos el mito aquel que afirma que existimos fuera del mundo natural, por el contrario creemos que la vida humana forma parte integral del mismo. Al mismo tiempo, sabemos que toda forma de dominación social solo traerá la destrucción del planeta y por ello, debemos acabar con la misma. El capitalismo no salvará el planeta por el solo hecho de hacernos cambiar nuestro estilo de vida o seguir una política de "enverdecimiento capitalista". En realidad, tenemos que entender la complicidad del estado capitalista con todas las formas de dominación, tales como el patriarcado y el racismo, responsables de la actual crisis ecológica. La sociedad anarquista tiene que ser ecologista y a su vez, la sociedad ecologista tiene que ser anarquista.

Esta declaración no pretende incluir todos los planteamientos que conciernen al anarquismo o anti-autoritarismo, como tampoco pretende Amor y Rabia darlo todo por entendido ni unificar todos los puntos de vista. No podemos representar el amplio espectro del heterogéneo movimiento anarquista contemporáneo, ni nos avergonzamos de algún punto de vista controversial. Finalmente, buscamos la incorporación de nuestros lectores y otros activistas en nuestro esfuerzo por el avance de nuestro entendimiento y el del movimiento en el que militamos.

Una Verdadera Revolución

La oposición al Patriarcado en Cuba

POR ALINA AVILA

LA SITUACIÓN DE LAS MUJERES en Cuba es como dice el viejo refrán: "El hombre agachado y la mujer aún más." Los hombres y las mujeres se sienten impotentes pero, mientras que unos huyen — algunos hombres jovenes me dijeron que pensaban irse en balsa a la Florida — otros, las mujeres, estan más resignadas y menos dispuestas a pensar en las maneras de escaparse. Esto podría interpretarse como que las mujeres sienten que tienen más que perder y que tienen una gran responsibilidad en la sociedad cubana. Las amas de casas con niños pequeños se quejan de que sus raciones son mucho más pequeñas que la de las mujeres que trabajan en la calle y se quejan de que tienen que perder la mayor parte del día haciendo largas colas para recibir raciones miserables e intercambiando o comprando en la bolsa negra (mercado negro). Cuando visite la isla, ví a estas mismas mujeres pasarse 3 ó 4 días sin comer para poder darles algo a sus hijos. Como amas de casas y madres trabajadoras, cargan con toda la responsibilidad de la familia y se han visto obligadas a declarar su descontento con el sistema. "No le creas, aquí nada trabaja," me dijo en privado la prima de mi mamá, después de que alguien me comentó que el sistema tendrá muchas deficiencias pero al fín y al cabo trabaja. Aunque los hombres jóvenes ayudan a sus esposas en la tareas de la casa y en el cuidado de los niños, se quejan de tener que hacerlo porque sus padres no lo hacían. El patriarcado, el sexismo, la doble moral sexual, y la homofobia se manifiestan ampliamente en Cuba. El vivir abiertamente con una mujer le costó a mi prima sufrir electro shock, que le suspendieran su licencia de médico, que el partido la expulsara de su trabajo y la sacara de su hogar. Nadie de la familia sabe donde vive actualmente, ellos, especialmente su padre, estan avergonzados de ella. El no la considera la clase profesional, en realidad su campo laboral esta restringido con menos posibilidades de promoción que los hombres. Mi tía dejó su empleo en un hospital, porque su trabajo no era reconocido ni apreciado. Ella ahora gana lo mismo trabajando en su máquina de coser en la casa y no tiene que soportar jerarquías ni lidiar con la burocracia.

Como en el pasado, la principal responsibilidad de la mujer es el hogar, no importa cuantos trabajos pagados o voluntarios ellas tengan. A las mujeres se les cargan más responsibilidades cuando se dictan las reglas que afectan a todos, elaboradas en su mayoría por hombres blancos de la clase privilegiada, la elite dirigente. En lugar de pensar en escapar de la isla, como muchos hombres sueñan, las mujeres tienen los pies firmamente plantados en el suelo cubano. Sea en privado, por temor a los delatores y a los actos de repudio o publicamente, como la poetisa María Elena Cruz Varela (sentenciada a dos años de cárcel) me parece que hay más mujeres que hombres que se oponen abiertamente al regimen de Castro. Siento que si sucediera una revolución verdadera en Cuba esta vendría de las mujeres que rehusan a callar las injusticias que sufren, ellas y sus hijos. Las mujeres junto a hombres y niños tomando las calles, ¡ una verdadera revolución!

Alina Avila, es una activista feminista de origen cubano residente en New York, que abandonó la isla junto a sus padres cuando apenas contaba con pocos años de edad.

Su intéres por las injusticias sociales, su activismo político, el deseo de conocer la realidad de la revolución cubana y el anhelo de volver a pisar la tierra de donde había sido arrancada la llevo a pertenecer a la Brigada Antonio Maceo, hasta que finalmente, visitara la isla y comprobara con sus ojos los horrores del autoritarismo castrista, muy distantes del esplendor y la maravilla "revolucionaria" que exporta su maquinaria propagandista.

RESUMEN DE LOS ARTICULOS EN INGLES

Pág.2 y 3 - *Cartas*

Pág.4 - *Solidaridad Con Cuba - No Con Castro.* Por Gustavo Rodríguez
Apareció en español en la edición anterior de Amor y Rabia (Año 3, Número 1).

Pág.5 - *¡Victoria! Para "Mayday 29".* Por Lisa Novacek
Traducido para esta sección. Ver pág.2

Pág.6 - *Anarquismo y Derechos Reproductivos.* Por Liz A. Highleyman. Un artículo sobre la lucha por mantener la legalidad del aborto en los EU, métodos alternativos para el aborto y las relaciones entre los anarquistas y los movimientos por los derechos de la mujer.

Pág.7 - *La página de la Federación de Juventudes Anarquistas.* El Machismo en México. Por Ana L. Hernandez. Ver pág.3 en español.

Grupos de Extremistas Feos Fuera de Control. Por Kezdie Throop. Un artículo cómico sobre un "grupo heterosexual militante" llamado "Departamento de Policía de Chicago" que sale a "apoyar" a la Asociación Americana de Médicos en favor de un sistema de salud donde los ciudanos tengan que pagar por los servicios.

Pág. 8 - *Una Verdadera Revolución* - La oposición al Patriarcado en Cuba por Alina Avila. Ver pág.4 del español.

Pág. 8 y 9 - *Rabia y Renovación de las Mujeres en Toronto.* Dos artículos de Shannonbrooke Murphy del colectivo Ecomedia de Toronto. "Mujeres en Contra de las Acciones Racistas de la Policía". Un reportaje sobre el trabajo de la Coalición de Mujeres contra el Racismo y la Violencia Polciaca.

"Radio Internacional Feminista". Desde 1988, la estación CKLN FM (una emisora comunitaria) ha producido 24 horas de programación para, por y sobre mujeres cada 8 de Marzo, El Día Internacional de la Mujer.

Pág.9 - *¿El Sexismo en la Comunidad Anarquista?* Por las mujeres del colectivo de Dayton. Los puntos de vista y experiencias con el sexismo de las mujeres miembros del Colectivo Anarquista de Dayton , Ohio.

Mujeres en Hamilton. Por el Colectivo McMaster de Mujeres (Hamilton,Ontario.) Un círculo de estudios formado en septiembre de 1991 destinado a crear un espacio, no amenazante, solo para mujeres y un foro con el objetivo de organizar proyectos centrados en temas de la mujer.

Pág.10 - *Otra Vistaso a la Pornografía.* Por "un simpatizante anarquista masculino que ha trabajado en la industria de la pornografía". Más debate sobre el tema .

Pág.11 - *Notas de Agitación.* Calendario de eventos y noticias breves.

Pág. 12 - *Cruz Negra Anarquista* - Noticias desde las prisiones. Documentos y artículos sobre prisoneros políticos.

En La Avenida Gogol - La habitual sección de Amor y Rabia dedicada al enfoque sobre Europa del Este.

TOMANDO FUERZA

POR DEMA CRASSY

HOLA!, PARTICIPO EN UN GRUPO de estudios anarco-feminista en N.Y. Esto es algo muy agradable por varias razones y espero que el comentar algunas, sirva para motivar a otras mujeres a iniciar o participar en

mos vulnerables y facilmente pueden regresarnos a sus controlados roles-no muy progresistas...

Todo esto, ha sido una asombrosa experiencia y personalmente invito a todas las mujeres a tomar la educación y la revolu-

nes miserables e intercambiando o comprando en la bolsa negra (mercado negro). Cuando visite la isla, ví a estas mismas mujeres pasarse 3 ó 4 días sin comer para poder darles algo a sus hijos. Como amas de casas y madres trabajadoras, cargan con toda la responsibilidad de la familia y se han visto obligadas a declarar su descontento con el sistema. "No le creas, aquí nada trabaja," me dijo en privado la prima de mi mamá, después de que alguien me comentó que el sistema tendrá muchas deficiencias pero al fín y al cabo trabaja. Aunque los hombres jóvenes ayudan a sus esposas en la tareas de la casa y en el cuidado de los niños, se quejan de tener que hacerlo porque sus padres no lo hacían. El patriarcado, el sexismo, la doble moral sexual, y la homofobia se manifiestan ampliamente en Cuba. El vivir abiertamente con una mujer le costó a mi prima sufrir electro shock, que le suspendieran su licencia de médico, que el partido la expulsara de su trabajo y la sacara de su hogar. Nadie de la familia sabe donde vive actualmente, ellos, especialmente su padre, estan avergonzados de ella. El no la considera parte de su familia y cosidera que para él esta muerta. Las mujeres viven una doble opresión — la del partido dominante y la del poder masculino. Aunque la Federación de Mujeres Cubanas ha tenido algunos logros, más que nada en plantados en el suelo cubano. Sea en privado, por temor a los delatores y a los actos de repudio o publicamente, como la poetisa María Elena Cruz Varela (sentenciada a dos años de cárcel) me parece que hay más mujeres que hombres que se oponen abiertamente al regimen de Castro. Siento que si sucediera una revolución verdadera en Cuba esta vendría de las mujeres que rehusan a callar las injusticias que sufren, ellas y sus hijos. Las mujeres junto a hombres y niños tomando las calles, ¡ una verdadera revolución!

Alina Avila, es una activista feminista de origen cubano residente en New York, que abandonó la isla junto a sus padres cuando apenas contaba con pocos años de edad.

Su intéres por las injusticias sociales, su activismo político, el deseo de conocer la realidad de la revolución cubana y el anhelo de volver a pisar la tierra de donde había sido arrancada la llevo a pertenecer a la Brigada Antonio Maceo, hasta que finalmente, visitara la isla y comprobara con sus ojos los horrores del autoritarismo castrista, muy distantes del esplendor y la maravilla "revolucionaria" que exporta su maquinaria propagandista.

Actualmente, tiene su propio programa en la radioestación comunitaria WBAI y trabaja arduamente a favor de la mujer cubana y del desenmascaramiento de la dictadura desde una perspectiva revolucionaria. ★

Grupos de Extremistas Feos Fuera de Control. Por Kezdie Throop. Un artículo cómico sobre un "grupo heterosexual militante" llamado "Departamento de Policía de Chicago" que sale a "apoyar" a la Asociación Americana de Médicos en favor de un sistema de salud donde los ciudanos tengan que pagar por los servicios.

Pág. 8 - *Una Verdadera Revolución* - La oposición al Patriarcado en Cuba por Alina Avila. Ver pág.4 del español.

Pág. 8 y 9 - *Rabia y Renovación de las Mujeres en Toronto.* Dos artículos de Shannonbrooke Murphy del colectivo Ecomedia de Toronto. "Mujeres en Con-

proyectos centrados en temas de la mujer.

Pág.10 - *Otra Vistaso a la Pornografía.* Por "un simpatizante anarquista masculino que ha trabajado en la industria de la pornografía". Más debate sobre el tema .

Pág.11 - *Notas de Agitación.* Calendario de eventos y noticias breves.

Pág. 12 - *Cruz Negra Anarquista* - Noticias desde las prisiones. Documentos y artículos sobre prisoneros políticos.

En La Avenida Gogol - La habitual sección de Amor y Rabia dedicada al enfoque sobre Europa del Este.

TOMANDO FUERZA

POR DEMA CRASSY

HOLA!, PARTICIPO EN UN GRUPO de estudios anarco-feminista en N.Y. Esto es algo muy agradable por varias razones y espero que el comentar algunas, sirva para motivar a otras mujeres a iniciar o participar en grupos similares en sus comunidades. Mi conocimiento del pensamiento feminista se ha cuadriplicado desde que ingrese a este grupo de estudios. Otro buen motivo es que solo haya participación femenina, he notado que no tener "perspectivas masculinas" en lo que leemos y discutimos le da un destello revolucionario. Considerando que la educación es para hombres sobre hombres y por hombres, nosotras no vamos a conocer nuestro potencial o afirmarnos como mujeres hasta que no tomemos una ruta alternativa.

Los grupos de estudios no solamente son un foro para reclamar, también sirven como un recurso de apoyo emocional. El apoyar a las mujeres es necesario, ya que no solo la opresión y la represión a la mujer y al pensamiento feminista existen en la sociedad convencional, también se manifiestan en la comunidad anarquista, inclusive en la Red Amor y Rabia (de 174 artículos contados, considerando todas las ediciones del periodico, 139 fueron escritos por hombres y 35 por mujeres). Lo mejor de todo esto es que existe la ventaja de leer estos temas, hablar sobre ellos y aprender de los mismos.

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Machismo

(Viene de la página 3)

despenalización del aborto. La dictadura del PRI (Partido Revolucionario Institucional) no accede por la presión de los grupos económicos que respaldan la posición de la iglesia. Sin embargo, dentro del movimiento feminista mexicano y en el programa de organizaciones como la Academia de Derechos Humanos, que se supone deberían tener posturas a favor del control de nuestros cuerpos y de nuestras vidas, nos tropezamos con actitudes que más bien parecen mendigar nuestros derechos en lugar de exigirlos. La posición de la Academia de Derechos Humanos esta más centrada en la despenalización del aborto, (exponiendo que este es usado para extorcionar y que en la práctica no es realmente penado) en

endo el avance real de nuestras ideas. La reciente experiencia que vivimos las mujeres que asistimos al Encuentro Anarquista que tuvo lugar en Ocotepec, México, es otra prueba de como predominan estas actitudes en espacios donde suponemos que no existen.

Para empezar, la asistencia femenina a dicho encuentro en relación a la participación total de los/as que asistimos fué mínima; como siempre el cuidado de los niños, la limpieza y la cocina estuvo "atendido" por mujeres (y nadie reparó en estos detalles);nunca estuvo incluido en el temario la problemática de la mujer, cuando surgió este tema en una de las mesas de trabajo (mesa no. 2 — "Cultura, organización y educación") la mayoría de los participantes masculinos no permitieron el desarrollo de una discución profunda a pesar de las protestas y los esfuerzos que hicimos por continuar la misma. Las conclusiones fueron las de siempre: "sí nosotros las

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Como mencionamos al principio de este artículo, aún en los medios alternativos prevalecen los nefastos valores patriarcales. No hemos logrado erradicar del todo estos males que continuan oprimiendonos en nuestro acontecer cotidiano, impidiendo el avance real de nuestras ideas. La reciente experiencia que vivimos las mujeres que asistimos al Encuentro Anarquista que tuvo lugar en Ocotepec, México, es otra prueba de como predominan estas actitudes en espacios donde suponemos que no existen.

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El patriarcado es un mal global que nos oprime a todas (blancas, afro, nativas, etc.) en cualquier parte del mundo, es por eso que debemos ser solidarias en nuestra lucha y debemos de educar y crear conciencia en nuestros compañeros de que es un problema de todos; que ellos son los que tienen la responsabilidad de cambiar sus actitudes y aplastar de una vez por todas al patriarcado. ★

otras mujeres a iniciar o participar en grupos similares en sus comunidades. Mi conocimiento del pensamiento feminista se ha cuadriplicado desde que ingrese a este grupo de estudios. Otro buen motivo es que solo haya participación femenina, he notado que no tener "perspectivas masculinas" en lo que leemos y discutimos le da un destello revolucionario. Considerando que la educación es para hombres sobre hombres y por hombres, nosotras no vamos a conocer nuestro potencial o afirmarnos como mujeres hasta que no tomemos una ruta alternativa.

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Un grupo de estudios de esta naturaleza va más alla de ser una experiencia genérica de aprendizaje. Por lo general los educativos "libros de texto" estan escritos por viejitos arrugados. El material que nosotras leemos esta escrito por mujeres, esto por sí mismo hace más accesible la información, por que sin importar nuestra procedencia, inevitablemente, compartimos la opresión común de ser mujeres. Para mi esto es más válido que todo el "vocabulario masculino" que he leído.

Más explícitamente,este tipo de educación no nos enseña que es lo que necesitamos para sobrevivir en el "mundo de los hombres". Nuestra clase nos enseña a reconocer como el mundo de los hombres nos envenena y esclaviza y a través de la discución ,podemos llegar ha alguna aplastante forma de tratar con esto.

Obviamente los hombres tienen que lidiar con su sexismo, pero considerando que la mayoría no lo hace, no creo que se puedan integrar exitosamente dentro de nuestro proceso de aprendizaje-reclamación en este punto. Muchas aún so-

mujeres a tomar la educación y la revolución en nuestras manos y dejar de esperar a que "ellos" enseñen como hacerla.

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Forma de Registración

Estamos esperando una gran asistencia de compañeros/as a la Conferencia del Consejo de la Red, así que si deseas participar registrate ahora. Los organizadores han asignado cuotas de registración flexibles (desde $5 a $30).

ATS c/o Wild Seed Press
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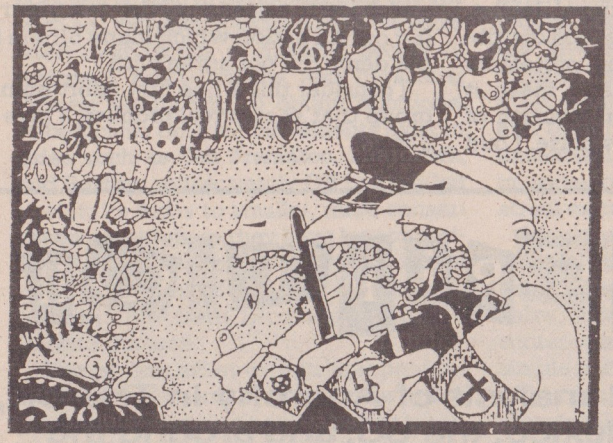
Ciudad_____
Estado O Provincia_____
Z.P._____Tel._____

On Gogol Boulevard

Anarchy in Czecho-Slovakia

(from a letter by Nuita, a US womyn who visited there in August)



THE MOST IMPORTANT STORY (WELL I DUNNO about the most) but very urgent & scary is about the rising physical confrontation between Prague anarchists and fascist skins.

The connections between the skins and ultra-right members of parliament have always been pretty understood by anarchists. But recently the proof has been mounting and the anarchists are actively collecting, compiling and distributing this. The anarchists' actions have not gone unnoticed. One week before we had been to the anarchist center in Prague Castle the skins had trashed it (posters, newspapers trashed, printing press dumped, tables and chairs tossed around, phone ripped out). The fascists left a note saying if the anarchists didn't stop the violence would get worse.

It started when the anarchists had a few demos in '90, '91 and the skins would attack and the cops would let them. The skins would attack from the backs of the anarchists. There was also an increase in undercover cops. One incident was this right-winger in parliament being spotted in an anarchist demo, speaking and chummin' it up with the nazis. Some say this is where the pay-off happened. Oh yeah! The pay-off thang. The anarchists are one of the only organized *anti-fa* (anti-fascist) forces on the Czech side. (4 groups.) Walking around certain neighborhoods ya get that turf feeling with tons of battling graffiti. Anarchists acknowledge that "communism" didn't work and capitalism (U$A style) isn't going to work either (I should say the "free-market system.") So they are quite a threat (ideologically and ideally) to the new Empire. So naturally the Empire wants the anarchists smashed....

Another tidbit is that one of the ultra-right dudes in parliament uses nazi skins as his security force....

The anarchists had a demo on June 18, 1991 and because of its anti-militarist and anti-fascist swing a lot of people came. They also had an anti-Bush demo on November 17, 1990 that was so great. They were able to be so close to where he was speaking that they prevented him from speaking for four hours by banging on pots, yelling, and creating a general ruckus.

There is hardly any feminist analysis within the anarchist community. So what's new, eh? The only understanding of the connection between the personal and the political is beating up nazis. (Which we were told the young, white, het boys loved to do....and that's about it. I think its very important that nazis get beaten up, but I would like to see more analysis behind that. I think that violence can be a really good tactic for community self-defense.) This groovin' womyn, Laura, said she wasn't an anarchist but that her partner, Roman, was. He's read Czech anarchist philosophers (white men, of course), organized demos, put out underground papers etc. for years. I spoke politics for hours with her and she can definitely hold her own. There is a pervasive attitude of what makes an anarchist. And it doesn't seem like spaces are made for anarchist womyn. Roman commented on how the womyn at anarchist demos are usually girlfriends of male anarchists and that's why they're there. YUCK!! So Laura said she translates small, basic stuff on anarcha-feminism (she speaks like 7-10 languages!!). ★

"A KONTRA," NEWS OF ALTERNATIVE CULTURE. IN PHOTO ARROW POINTS TO POLITICIAN SPEAKING WITH NAZI-SKINS AT Ⓐ ACTION.

SQUATTED Ⓐ CLUB BUSTED JUNE 2 1991

NOV. 17 1990 Ⓐ DEMO AGAINST BUSH VISIT

her spouse.

She attempted to leave with her children, but was found. The three children were also victims of their father's violence, beaten, and sexually abused since birth. When Ellen's 12 year old daughter became pregnant after being raped by her "father," Ellen acted. She protected herself and her children in the only way she felt that she could — she killed him in self-defense.

Ellen is appealing for help in pressuring the Governor to seek a careful review of her case and sentence. Bob (of OGB) wrote to the Governor of California after reading that last article and actually received a reply. He gave us the reply letter, and it sounds fairly positive. In the last few years several states have changed the sentencing guide lines for cases like Ellen's, and a few states have moved to free women imprisoned for killing abusive partners. Politically, it looks good for the state governments to make humanitarian gestures like this, and with prison over crowding they are cutting sentences already. So, with some pressure the governor may act on this, please write immediately. If you write, or call Governor Wilson and get a reply, send it on to Ellen. If you get an actual letter back we'd appreciate if you'd send us a copy here at *Love and Rage*.

Governor Pete Wilson
State House
Sacramento, CA 95814
(916) 445-2841

Ellen Peel
W - 12799 Emmons B 547L
Frontera, CA 91720

POLL TAX

REMEMBER THE POLL TAX riots? Yeah, well, the British government hasn't forgotten either, the trials are still going on. The trials seem to be dragging on, maybe the gov.'t is trying to make some sort of point by turning it into a political show. While some of those arrested still wait for trial, others have been sentenced and are serving their terms.

The Trafalgar Square Defendant's Campaign is calling for complete amnesty for all those arrested. The campaign puts out a news letter with trial updates and listings of prisoners.

Trafalgar Square Defendant's Campaign
c/o Haldane Society of Lawyers
205 Panther House, 38 Mount Pleasant,
London WC1X OAP

(212) 925-7966 and find out about helping with the page, answering prisoner letters, etc. Talk to you all soon,

Jane

CONTACTS

To learn more about political prisoners, prisoners of war, and prisons in North America, write to any or all of the following groups:

Anarchist Black Cross Toronto
PO Box 6326 Station A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1P7
CANADA

Bulldozer
PO Box 5052 Station A
Toronto, ONT M5W 1W4
CANADA

Through The Walls
472 Albert St
Kingston, ONT K7L 3W3
CANADA

Anarchist Black Cross Vancouver
PO Box 2881
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X4
CANADA

Wimmin Prisoner
Support Network
PO Box 770, Station P
Toronto, ONT M5S 2Z1
CANADA

Project 1313
PO Box 1313
Lawrence, KS 66044

Anarchist Black Cross New York
PO Box 20521
Tompkins Square Station
New York, NY 10009

Anarchist Black Cross
San Lorenzo PO Box 215
San Lorenzo, CA 94580

Prisoner's Legal News
PO Box 1684
Lake Worth, FL 33460

The ANTI-WARior
48 Shattuck Sq.
Berkeley, CA 94704

Leonard Peltier
Defense Committee
PO Box 583
Lawrence, KS 66044

Committee to End
The Marion Lockdown
343 S. Dearborn, Suite 1607
Chicago, IL 60604

Friends of Liberty
Box 95686
Seattle, WA 98145-2686

Anarchist Black Cross
Latino Americana
PO Box 451208
Miami, FL 33245

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Anarchist Black Cross

Support Crucial for Ellen Peel

LAST AUGUST WE RAN an article on Ellen Peel, jailed in California for killing, in self-defense, her abusive husband. Ellen was beaten, abused, and raped repeatedly during the years she lived with her spouse.

She attempted to leave with her children, but was found. The three children were also victims of their father's violence, beaten, and sexually abused since birth. When Ellen's 12 year old daughter became pregnant after being raped by her "father," Ellen acted. She protected herself and her children in the only way she felt that she could — she killed him in self-defense.

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THE A.B.C. PAGE IS AN INDEPENDENT AND AUTONOMOUS SECTION of this paper. Although we listen to and consider the advice, thoughts, and criticisms of the production group and EC, all decisions about content, graphix, etc. are made by us.

From the feed back we get on the page, it seems that most people want to see this information. And we want to continue to have the A.B.C. page in *Love and Rage*. But WE NEED HELP. Send us infrmation, photos, graphix, news from inside, articles. Or, better yet, all you New York City folks ... give us a call here at the office: (212) 925-7966 and find out about helping with the page, answering prisoner letters, etc. Talk to you all soon,

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dant to prove to a judge that the evidence witheld would have significantly affected the outcome of the case.

Dhoruba's hearing on this matter was sceduled for February 13, but was postponed when the defense found that they had not seen all depositions. Manhattan District Attorney Morgenthau requested that Dhoruba be put back in prison until the next court date, but the judge refused. Dhoruba was, howeverdenied the use of his passport, presumably to prevent him from addressing the United Nations in Geneva.

Dhoruba says he looks forward to the hearing and possible retrial, because they present an opportunity to publicly expose the FBI's frame-ups and general campaign of terror against of him and other Black revolutionaries for their political activities.

His next court date is April 16. Three hundred people came out in support on February 13, and he needs a showing like this again to keep the pressure on! SO SHOW UP: April 16, at 100 Center St 11th Floor, Part 30 - 9AM

For further information, contact:

QUISP
(Queers United in Support of Political Prisoners)
PO Box 282 Cathedral Station
NY, NY 10025
(212) 969-8598

Arm The Spirit

ARM THE SPIRIT is an information collective focusing on militant and revolutionary struggles. Our perspective is autonomous but we see a need to discuss and analyse all forms of left resistance in order to contribute to a revolutionary process. We welcome and encourage others to join us in our work."

Arm The Spirit
c/o Wild Seed Press
P.O. Box 57584, Jackson Station
Hamilton, Ontario
L8P 4X3 Canada

c/o Autonome Forum
P.O. Box 366
Williamstown, MA
01267 USA

The presentations have explored Black Liberation, Native American resistance, gay and lesbian movements, and much else to learn about and be inspired by. Currently, there is a focus on 1992 and the 500 Years of Indigenous Resistance.

An important part of the series has been the cooperation and involvement from the respective struggles, giving people involved in these struggles an opportunity to represent themselves and share their own analysis.

If you have questions or know of good video material, contact:

Resistance Video Series
c/o Resistance
Box 2881
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X4 Canada

DUTCH SQUATTERS ACQUITED

BY JAN KRAKER

IN MAY 1990, violent confrontations erupted between squatters and riot police in the Dutch city of Groningen as city officials enacted martial law and authorized the use of near-lethal doses of tear gas to evict the WNC squat complex. When the squatters surrendered, over 100 were arrested, detained for up to several weeks in isolation, then charged with Article 140, a Dutch anti-terrorist law which makes sympathy for or membership in an illegal organization a punishable offence. On November 26, a Dutch court ruled that tthe "illegal organization" (ie, the group of squatters) was not generally criminally active, thus Art. 140 could not apply. In addition, most of the 115 persons charged with Article 141 (public violence) were acquitted due to lack of evidence — everyone had been masked during the confrontations with the police! Unfortunately, 8 people were given sentences ranging from 3 to 4 months, probably because they gave self-incriminating statements to the police while in detention.

—Compiled by Autonome Forum from NN.

against a speaking engagement by former drug czar William Bennett in Minneapolis was an entertaining first effort from TCAF (the Twin Cities Anarchist Federation.) Stimulating performances from the anarchists made this 2+ hour event the kind of energetic noise-fest you expect protest and resistance to be. Supporting players NORML (National Organization Reform of Marijuana Laws) and PSO (Progressive Student Organization) turned in decent performances.

While Bennett addressed a fancy $50-a-plate benefit for a right-wing fringe group, The Center of the American Experiment, inside, the program outside was elaborate: an educational leaflet, signs and banners. The free food distributed was mostly eaten by protestors themselves, but that doesn't mean it wasn't nummy! The major strength of the program, however, was noise, Loud noise.

First time directors TCAF made many of the mistakes typical of first efforts, especially those trying to break the mold of boring peaceful demos. Much of the event was out of focus, we didn't sit through any boring speeches either. Other problems were related to tactical questions. There was no clear decision making process - this created problems of deciding to march around or not, and when to leave. Both decisions were made in mysterious ways which not everyone was happy about. The other problem stemmed from not clearly articulating the parameters of the demo, which led to a section of the demo carrying out an action which many others in the demo did not agree with.

I consider this a fine first effort from a group that shows real promise, I give it 3 stars.

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killed most likely was shot by another police bullet, evidence isn't always easy to fabricate.) The remaining 41 defendents will have to wait until April to go to court.

In a powerful statement of resistance, the defendents refused to enter a plea in court because they do not recognize the jurisdiction of the Canadian state which

DHORUBA

FORMER BLACK PANTHER and political prisoner Dhoruba Bin Wahad still needs your support. He faces possible reimprisonment if the court rules that evidence which was withheld during his trials would not have had a significant impact on his case.

Dhoruba was released in 1990, after 19 years in prison under the Rosario ruling. Rosario said that one is automatically eligible for a re-trial if any evidence of misconduct or witholding of evidence on the part of the prosecution is found. Rosario was subsequently overturned, and the burden now rests on the defendant to prove to a judge that the evidence witheld would have significantly affected the outcome of the case.

Dhoruba's hearing on this matter was sceduled for February 13, but was postponed when the defense found that they had not seen all depositions. Manhattan District Attorney Morgenthau requested that Dhoruba be put back in prison until the next court date, but the judge refused. Dhoruba was, howeverdenied the use of his passport, presumably to prevent him from addressing the United Nations in Geneva.

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Kahnawake, Quebec J0L 2B0

—*information from* Prison News Service.

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Hyattsville, MD 20782

Call The Mumia Hotline: (215) 522-8985

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far: Love and Rage Network, Left Green Network and Youth Greens.

Love and Rage
Box 3, Prince St. Station
New York, NY 10012
(212) 925-7966

Sometime this Spring

WEST COAST @ GATHERING

A proposal to have a regional anarchist gathering on the west coast, somewhere roughly central between San Diego and Vancouver.

Stefan Wray
2440 16th Street, Box 241
San Francisco, CA 94103

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BY P. HARVEY SNOOZER

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Notes of Revolt

MOHAWK TRIALS CONTINUE

MOHAWK WARRIORS, on trial for the defense of a sacred pine forest which involved gun-fighting with the cops and the occupation of a commuter bridge, face prosecution for crimes from mischief to rioting, possession of weapons, assault, and destruction of property.

The Mohawks erected a barricade to protect the pine forest against a golf course in July 1990, soon taking the initiative to arm themselves and take over a commuter bridge. One year later, in October, several members of the Warrior Society, perceived as leaders, began their trial proceedings, and by November the most serious charges had been dropped. (The cop who was killed most likely was shot by another police bullet, evidence isn't always easy to fabricate.) The remaining 41 defendents will have to wait until April to go to court.

In a powerful statement of resistance, the defendents refused to enter a plea in court because they do not recognize the jurisdiction of the Canadian state which is prosecuting them. As usual, the judge will not hear "ideological" arguments, defining the history of genocide against First Nations and the continued denial of self-determination as irrelevent.

The Mohawk's willingness to defend their land against further encroachment and their refusal to accept the rules of the legal system (and the whole power structure the laws support) as legitimate make these cases important for the government. Support is needed!

Donations can be sent to:

The Akwek Fund Account #26-05317
c/o Imperial Bank of Commerce
119 Sparks St.
Ottawa, Ontario K1P 5T5
(613) 235-8978

For more informaiton, write to:
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The presentations have explored

MUMIA

MUMIA ABU-JAMAL, Former Black Panther and revolutionary Black journalist, falsely convicted for the killing of a Philadelphia cop, will be the first political prisoner to be executed (legally) in the US since the Rosenbergs, unless we do something about it. Money and letters are urgently needed to prevent his exection, a warrant for which could be passed down any time. Mumia has exhausted his state appeals. Write to demand that Governor Robert Casey commute Mumia's sentence:

Main Capitol Building, Rm. 225
Harrisburg, PA 17120

send donations to:
Equal Justice USA/LDF
PO Box 5206
Hyattsville, MD 20782

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ANARCHIST CALENDAR

February or March

SECOND INTERAMERICAN GATHERING OF THE INTERNATIONAL WORKER'S ASSOCIATION
Sao Paulo, Brazil

We heard obout it from the Confederation of Brazilian Workers. It's sponsored by the COB, Worker's solidarity Alliance and the IWA.

International Secretary c/o WSA
PO Box 1197
San Antonio, TX 78294

March 14

ELECTION BOYCOTT COALITION MEETING

A planning meeting of groups and individuals interested in organizing the boycott of the 1992 presidential elecions. Groups in the coalition so far: Love and Rage Network, Left Green Network and Youth Greens.

Love and Rage
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Furthermore, our critique of the porn industry should be libertarian, not authoritarian. Telling people what kinds of materials they can or can't view is authoritarian. Providing a theoretical framework for viewing materials and leting them make their own choices in a politically conscious way is something else. ★

—a male anarchist sympathizer who has worked in the porn industry

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Love and Rage is revolutionary.

We support the overthrow of all forms of authoritarian social relations and the creation of a society based on cooperation, solidarity and mutual aid. We recognize that social revolution can only be made by the oppressed majority of humanity in a movement that they control themselves. We support the use of whatever means are necessary to emancipate humanity and bring an end to the war, poverty, hunger and misery generated by the existing system. We support the use of diverse tactics in working toward a social revolution.

Love and Rage is anti-statist.

We oppose all states (governments) regardless of ideology. The purpose of the state is to maintain and regulate all forms of domination. The state has a monopoly on organized, legal violence: the police, military, and the prison system enforce the authoritarian organization of society. We oppose the immigration system and attempts to control the free movement of people across state borders. We believe that people can organize their own lives and communities. This self-organization can take care of any useful functions for which people now rely on the state.

Love and Rage is anti-capitalist.

We support all resistance to capitalist domination — resistance such as strikes, workplace struggles, squatting, rent strikes, and struggles for community control of resources. We desire the total transformation of production and consumption in a life-affirming, cooperative economy. It should be decentralized, equitable, fluid and experimental and controlled by those who participate in it.

Love and Rage is anti-racist.

We support the self-determination of all communities of color. We fight against white supremacy and work for the creation of societies that respect cultural diversity. We recognize the specific oppression of African-Americans from the time of slavery to the present. We fight for the liberation and self-determination of Black people in the US. We acknowledge that the basis for the current racist society was laid by means of genocide and forced assimilation of indigenous people. We support the preservation of cultural traditions and land rights for Native Americans. We support self-determination for Puerto Rico and an end to the oppression of Puerto Ricans outside of Puerto Rico. We oppose the oppression of Chicanos. We oppose anti-Jewish racism. We fight to expose cultural imperialism. We support self-determination for Québec and an end to the oppression of francophones in North America. We organize against racist skinhead, Klan, Nazi, and cop terror. We recognize and oppose the racism inherent in the economic, political, and military domination and exploitation of the so-called "third world." We are striving to create a society where people of all colors and ethnic backgrounds can feel safe, respected, and un-threatened by racism.

Love and Rage is anti-imperialist.

The society we fight for will celebrate the beauty of human diversity, honor the earth, and recognize the cultural and social contributions to the human community made by the planet's majority, people of color.

To create this society, humanity must overturn an existing one imposed on the planet by a minority through force — one that has enslaved the planet's majority for the enrichment of a few. This refers to all forms of state imperialism, not just domination by Western finance capital. *Love and Rage* supports the struggles of oppressed and exploited peoples for self-determination and freedom from domestic and foreign domination. We critically support the struggles of less powerful countries against imperialist bullying and control. This means dismantling all existing structures including the US federal state and the Soviet Union.

Love and Rage is anti-sexist.

We reject the patriarchy and fight for the empowerment, liberation and self-determination of all wimmin. This includes unquestionable reproductive freedom and accessible wimmin-centered health care for all wimmin (And *all* means *all!*) We recognize that sexual violence and objectification of wimmin are necessary to the continued functioning of the state. The state will not solve our problems. We recognize the responsibility of men to organize to change themselves and end patriarchy. We celebrate wimmin's strength and rejoice in our diversity and individuality.

Love and Rage supports Queer liberation.

We reject the compulsory heterosexuality of the patriarchal family and traditional sex roles and support attempts to foster a diversity of consensual human relationships and sexuality. This includes the liberation of bisexual, gay, lesbian and transgender people.

Love and Rage is anti-ageist.

The manifestations of ageism take many forms, from the oppression of youth to the problems of older people, all of whom are marginalized and alienated from this society. Our ideas for liberation are always developing and cannot be presented in a paragraph, but must be discussed in the paper as a whole and throughout our entire lives. This issue cannot be simplistically addressed, and will be dealt with in relevant articles on the AYF (Anarchist Youth Federation) Page and elsewhere.

Love and Rage is eco-anarchist.

All forms of life are intertwined. We reject the myth that people exist outside the natural world. Instead, we see human life as an integral part of nature.

At the same time, we see all forms of social domination as thoroughly interconnected with ecological destruction. We know that if we want to stop the destruction of the planet we must also end all forms of domination that corrode social life.

Merely changing individual lifestyles or "greening" capitalism will not save the planet. Instead we must understand that it is corporate and state capitalism together with forms of domination such as patriarchy and racism that are responsible for the current ecological crisis.An anarchist society must be ecological and an ecological society must be anarchistic.

This statement does not attempt to include all the issues of concern to anarchists and anti-authoritarians nor does *Love and Rage* pretend to fully understand, or be fully united on, all issues. We do not purport to represent the full spectrum of diversity in the contemporary anarchist movement. We will not shy away from controversy. We will always seek the input of our readers and other activists in our efforts to advance both our own understanding and that of the movements we serve.

economic privation, and treats employees (e.g. models) as dispensable cogs in the corporate machine. But the anti-porn orthodoxy is engaging in half-truths, distortions and hyperbole in order to overstate their case and sledgehammer dissent to their authoritarian agenda with moral indignation. Unfortunately, Blake chooses not to question these distortions.

For starters, the orthodoxy conflates the entire spectrum of porn, from *Playboy* to the most exotic bondage, into the same ball of wax. Newsstand monthlies like *Hustler* rarely depict a woman "tied to the hood of a sports car," or "with ropes around her breasts and bruises on her body." The big national distributors simply don't tolerate that stuff, especially if it's headed for markets in Canada or the midwest. The newsstand monthlies can't even depict penetration or erect dicks, much less bondage! It is the hardcore stuff, difficult to find outside of "adult" bookstores or big cities, which does not have to conform to the distributors' limits. The overwhelming majority of the hardcore stuff consists of endlessly bored copulating couples. It is only the hardcore *bondage* zines which depict ropes and chains. Even these rarely depict blood or bruises — and when they do, the wounds are not real, but airbrushed in. It is only in high-priced and elusive S&M videos, mostly imported from Germany by fly-by-night outfits, that real blood and whippings are portrayed. So it is only a small and marginalized fraction of the porn market which has those overtly "rape" with no further explanation. That is dishonest propagandizing, because the word "rape" implies physical force, which is not a factor in the more subtle and sophisticated economic coercion on which the porn industry is based.

Under economic coercion, people consent to work in nuke plants and other toxic environmens. This is hideous, but it is not the same thing as irradiating somebody without their consent.

The second question is, what are the effects of porn on its viewers and on society? Blake assumes that it "promotes rape." Certainly, porn can function, and does function, as anti-woman propaganda, legitimizing rape and violence. And the overwhelming reality of pervasive violence aginst women is the context within which the instinct to merely supress the fantasy and censor the smut emerges. But fantasy and real-world desires are not the same thing. Fantasy can be kept in perspective, explored in the imagination, without being manifested in reality. The challenge is to explore the relationship between fantasy and real desires, to find out how they interact together, rather than resorting to the oversimplification of merely conflating them. Can porn, created and used intelligently, be a tool for doing this?

Some maintain that this is the line between "pornography" and "erotica." But to whom are we to look as an authority to tell us where one ends and the other begins? Doesn't it have as much to do with what is zation of oppression." But pornography is the symptom, not the cause. To the extent that it functions as misogynist propaganda, it can be said to contribute to the sexualization of oppression in a sort of feedback loop, but this is not a chicken-versus-egg dilemma. The long centuries of rape and sexual slavery make it all too clear which came first.

It is ironic that Blake dismisses fears that anti-porn activists are frequently in league with the fundamentalist right, when he apparently bases his theoretical understanding of porn on the works of Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon — who indeed did enter into an alliance with the fundamentalist right in the effort to get their anti-porn ordinance passed in Minneapolis and Indianapolis. It should be recalled that the one "adult" bookstore which was closed during the brief period that the Indianapolis law was in force was a gay porn outlet.

Blake's naivete about the dangers of the anti-porn orthodoxy are evident in his statement that "the state supports the porn industry." A brief look at history tells us that it is the very excesses tolerated or even supported by the state during "libertine" eras which provide the justification for the clampdown in totalitarian era. The clampdown inevitably comes in periods of economic and social breakdown. Anarchists have a special responsibility to expose all of the guises in which the impending totalitarianism will be sold to the populace — even if it means splitting ranks with a "PC" sacred cow like the anti-porn orthodoxy.

We should indeed have a critique of the porn industry. We should also have a critique of the anti-porn orthodoxy. Pornography, despite Blake's assumption to the contrary, may indeed be outlawed — along with *Our Bodies, Our Selves*, gay publications, and *Love and Rage*.

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ANOTHER LOOK AT PORN

This article is presented as part of an ongoing debate about pornography. We encourage people to write articles expressing other viewpoints

THE PORNOGRAPHY QUESTION IS A COMPLICated one. For too long, smut's pseudo-countercultural mystique has held radicals back from developing a critique of the pornograph industry. However, one would hope to see some analysis which offers more than merely mouthing the "correct line" of the authoritarian anti-porn orthodoxy in a publication which claims to be "anarchist." As an anarchist sympathizer and a former employee of the pornography industry — I spent a year proofreading and copyediting smut for a national glossy — I'd like to point out a few of the dangerous oversimplifications in Richard Blake's "Porn In Flames" (*Love and Rage*, Vol. 2, No. 10, December, 1991).

Like any other industry in a capitalist society, the porn industry is based on coercion under threat of economic privation, and treats employees (e.g. models) as dispensable cogs in the corporate machine. But the anti-porn orthodoxy is engaging in half-truths, distortions and hyperbole in order to overstate their case and sledgehammer dissent to their authoritarian agenda with moral indignation. Unfortunately, Blake chooses not to question these distortions.

For starters, the orthodoxy conflates the entire spectrum of porn, from *Playboy* to the most exotic bondage, into the same ball of wax. Newsstand monthlies like *Hustler* rarely depict a woman "tied to the hood of a sports car," or "with ropes around her breasts and bruises on her body." The big national distributors simply don't tolerate that stuff, especially if it's headed for markets in Canada or the midwest. The newsstand monthlies can't even depict penetration or erect dicks, much less bondage! It is the hardcore stuff, difficult to find outside of "adult" bookstores or big cities, which does not have to conform to the distributors' limits. The overwhelming majority of the hardcore stuff consists of endlessly bored copulating couples. It is only the hardcore *bondage* zines which depict ropes and chains. Even these rarely depict blood or bruises — and when they do, the wounds are not real, but airbrushed in. It is only in high-priced and elusive S&M videos, mostly imported from Germany by fly-by-night outfits, that real blood and whippings are portrayed. So it is only a small and marginalized fraction of the porn market which has those overtly violent characteristics which Blake would attribute to the entire output of the industry.

There are two interrelated issues here. The first is the question of coercion. Whether the model is depicted lying on a bed naked (as in *Playboy*), masturbating (as in *Penthouse* or *Hustler*), fucking (as in the hardcore stuff), or submitting to physical restraint (as in the bondage stuff), we must ask whether the model has consented to being in the situation. Blake assumes that she has not, asserting that "every day ...countless pictures are being snapped of wimmin ...being raped."

This is a very serious distortion, aimed at evoking an emotional response in the reader. Likewise, to say that the model has consented is also a serious distortion, aimed at reassuring audiences and stifling legitimate questions and concerns. The copulation depicted in porn (when it is depicted at all) is more like prostitution than rape. Arguably, prostitution under economic coercion is a form of rape. But this should be argued overtly, rather than merely using "rape" with no further explanation. That is dishonest propagandizing, because the word "rape" implies physical force, which is not a factor in the more subtle and sophisticated economic coercion on which the porn industry is based.

Under economic coercion, people consent to work in nuke plants and other toxic environmens. This is hideous, but it is not the same thing as irradiating somebody without their consent.

The second question is, what are the effects of porn on its viewers and on society? Blake assumes that it "promotes rape." Certainly, porn can function, and does function, as anti-woman propaganda, legitimizing rape and violence. And the overwhelming reality of pervasive violence aginst women is the context within which the instinct to merely supress the fantasy and censor the smut emerges. But fantasy and real-world desires are not the same thing. Fantasy can be kept in perspective, explored in the imagination, without being manifested in reality. The challenge is to explore the relationship between fantasy and real desires, to find out how they interact together, rather than resorting to the oversimplification of merely conflating them. Can porn, created and used intelligently, be a tool for doing this?

Some maintain that this is the line between "pornography" and "erotica." But to whom are we to look as an authority to tell us where one ends and the other begins? Doesn't it have as much to do with what is going on in the mind of the viewer as with the material itself? The fact is that this is a hierarchical and misogynist culture, we have all been shaped by it, and both men and women frequently have sexual fantasies of domination and submission. The way out lies on confronting this reality, facing up to it and learning to deal with our fantasies intelligently and sensitively — not in purging the world of any photographic depiction of them.

Blake is right on in his demystification of sex, and cuts through all of the pro-sex propaganda we have been subjected to, pointing out correctly that sex is "often a source not of pleasure and intimacy, but of alienation, violation and grief." It is also frequently a source of disease and pregnancy — failure to mention this in the age of AIDS is an oversight. To the extent that pornography serves as a substitute for sex, it may be playing a positive social role. Porn certainly promotes masturbation far more than it promotes rape.

Blake writes that "pornography is about the sexualization of oppression." But pornography is the symptom, not the cause. To the extent that it functions as misogynist propaganda, it can be said to contribute to the sexualization of oppression in a sort of feedback loop, but this is not a chicken-versus-egg dilemma. The long centuries of rape and sexual slavery make it all too clear which came first.

It is ironic that Blake dismisses fears that anti-porn activists are frequently in league with the fundamentalist right, when he apparently bases his theoretical understanding of porn on the works of Andrea Dworkin and Catherine MacKinnon — who indeed did enter into an alliance with the fundamentalist right in the effort to get their anti-porn ordinance passed in Minneapolis and Indianapolis. It should be recalled that the one "adult" bookstore which was closed during the brief period that the Indianapolis law was in force was a gay porn outlet.

Blake's naivete about the dangers of the anti-porn orthodoxy are evident in his statement that "the state supports the porn industry." A brief look at history tells us that it is the very excesses tolerated or even supported by the state during "libertine" eras which provide the justification for the clampdown in totalitarian era. The clampdown inevitably comes in periods of economic and social breakdown. Anarchists have a special responsibility to expose all of the guises in which the impending totalitarianism will be sold to the populace — even if it means splitting ranks with a "PC" sacred cow like the anti-

world." Our kind teaches us to recognize how the man's world poisons and enslaves us, and through discussion, we can come up with some totally crushing ways to deal with it.

Obviously, men have to deal with their sexism, but considering most of them don't, I don't think they can be successfully integrated into our learning /reclamation process at this point. Many of us are still vulnerable, and they can be quick to slide back into their controlling roles — not to progressive....

Over all the whole thing has been an amazing experience and I totally encourage wimmin to take education, and the revolution in our own hands and quit waiting for "them" to teach us how to do it.★

Dema is a member of the Love and Rage *production group. For more infomation about her study group, call (212) 674-0092.*

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During one of our discussions on health care, we realized how difficult it is to get such things as simple as an AIDS test. We have decided to compile a list of wimmin's personal accounts of doctors they have encountered. The anonymous questionnaire will contain such questions as, "Is your doctor sensitive to wimmin's medical needs, or does she/he have the old attitude of 'it's all in your head'?" Other questions would pertain to attitudes towards race, class and sexual orientation as well as other personal comments. We hope that once the project is underway wimmin will use it as a resource and continue to contribute to it.

The International Women's Day event this year, organized by a group of liberal feminists, will be a day of workshops with the white, heterosexual, middle class perspective. We want to counteract this tendency by organizing a day of workshops that will confront white guilt and racist attitudes within the women's community. We haven't organized this event for International Women's Day but expect it to take place sometime this summer.

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The newer, scaled-down but perhaps more effective Women's Action Against Racist Policing (a working committee) is manifesting as an education, monitoring and pressure group. WAARP provides support to women who have experienced racist police incidents. They advocate and guide women through the legal processes open to them such as countercharging police, laying public complaints, opening a civil suit, etc. They continue to make deputations to the "Police Services Board" to give voice to women's concerns around policing. WAARP is compiling a list of politically conscious and committed lawyers to mobilize in such cases and are working on a legal education package to inform women of their rights.

The election victory of Toronto police/real estate Mayor June Rowlands was framed on either side by police shootings of Black men, giving us a taste of the Toronto-to-come.

Fighting mounting police terror at WAARP speed is more critical now than ever before.★

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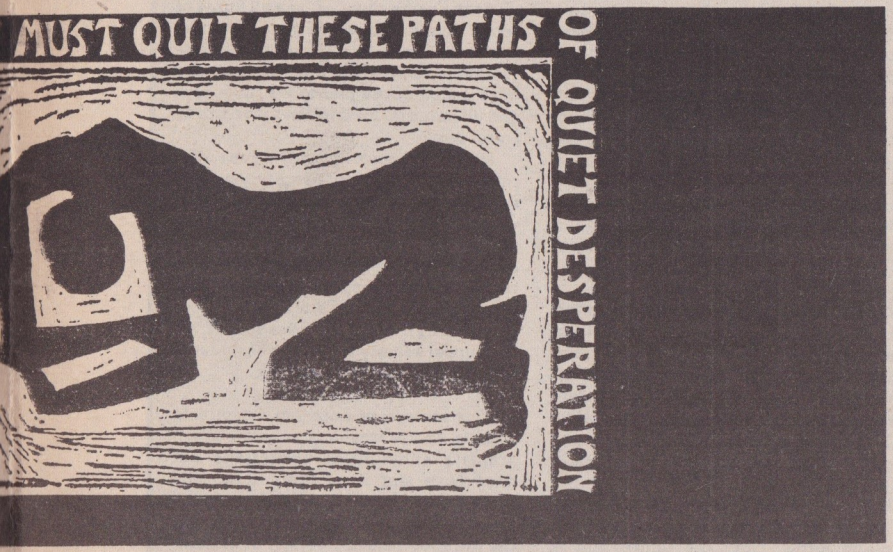

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RADIO FEMINIST INTERNATIONAL

Women Take the Waves

SINCE 1988, CKLN FM radio (a community-based station) has produced 24 hours of programming by, for and about women on March 8, International Women's Day.

All programmers get involved by highlighting Women's struggles and contributions in music, politics and culture throughout the week. Male programmers relinquish their airtime to women guest-hosts, and grassroots women's groups take over half the nightly news broadcast to set our own agendas, and speak directly to our own audience without mediation.

Radio Feminist International (RFI) has become something of an alternative institution for the Toronto left. A day of intensive feminist discussion and debate is pulled together by the CKLN Women's Caucus with the help of women's community producers and hosts.

The IWD rally is made more accessible by CKLN's live broadcast of the event. The day climaxes with a live broadcast of women's music.

This year, RFI highlights include Indigenous Women's Organizing in 1992; Women Fight the Global Economy; The Raging Debate on Democracy and Accountability in Women's Services; The Spirit of Women Prisoners; Violence Against Women...Continuing the Struggle; Reproductive Technology; Lesbian programming and more. Add to this hourly "Herstory Spots on Women Revolutionaries" and a live women's jam in-studio at the end of the day.

We expect to promote thought, share experiences and create debate and participation through phone-in segments. For the CKLN Women's Caucus who facilitate community women's entry into the world of radio broadcasting, the process of women's empowerment to take control of the mike and speak directly to their audience, without mediation, without interpretation, without appropriation is a revelation, a celebration, a small-scale revolution studio-style.

During this "information age," when news is a big-bucks centralized industry, un-media-ted communication between people from marginalized sectors—who have neither access to nor accurate representation in mainstream media—is critical.

This is especially true for the women's movement, plagued by media appropriation of feminism, media distortions of feminist politics and media hype of bourgeois feminism and the so-called "men's movement." CKLN's Radio Feminist International is an important step in creating and controlling our own forms of communication. ★

Shannonbrooke Murphy is a member of the Ecomedia Toronto Collective, and editor of the upcoming "Un-Media-ted: Women Speaking for Ourselves, to Eachother through Popular Media," *available from the* Popular Education Research Group, *606 Shaw St., Toronto, Ont. M6G 3L3 CANADA*

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and would like to express our views and experiences in trying to overcome this problem.

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anarchist collective.

As DAC became more active and aware, we grew as friends and anarchists together. Our personal and "political" lives

dealt with the issue of sexism each on our own and as a whole. Both male and female sexism has been confronted and discussed openly. Wim-

trouble keeping us down when so many of us are filled with hatred and fear of our brothers and sisters based on their false divisions. ★

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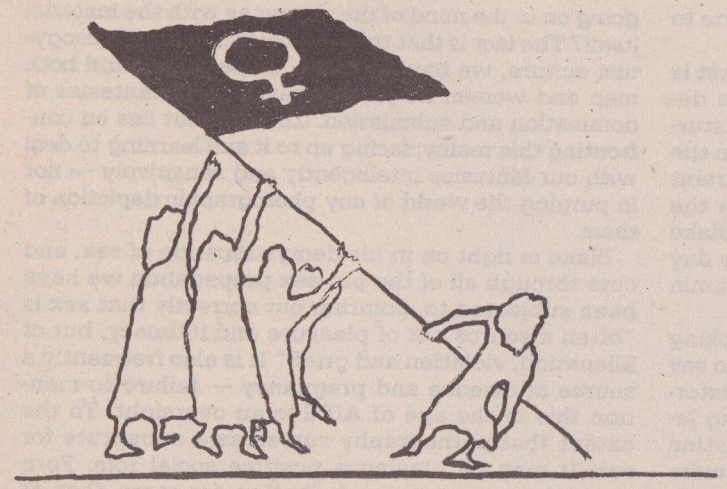
SEXISM IN THE ANARCHIST COMMUNITY?



BY WOMEN OF THE DAYTON ANARCHIST COLLECTIVE

IN TODAY'S SOCIETY MOST of us are raised and conditioned to fit the traditional roles of male and female; the male role being dominant and aggressive, the female role being passive and submissive. This type of gender-stereotyping constrains us, but unfortunately exists in anarchist communities and must be confronted. The Dayton Anarchist Collective (DAC) has had our share of sexism and would like to express our views and experiences in trying to overcome this problem.

DAC was formed as an anarchist study group on anarchist theory—utilizing historical and contemporary anarchist writings. Even in the early stages of our group the presence of male sexism was apparent. It manifested itself in the many ways that society ingrains in us. Wimmin were interrupted and completely cut off when speaking, often being blatantly put down as if their opinions meant nothing. A womyn's opinion was rarely expanded upon or regarded with the respect a man's would be. At this time, several wimmin were beaten by boyfriends and, although some disapproval was shown, these men continued to be involved with the collective and accepted as friends in our personal lives and within the group. It got to the point that wimmin rarely spoke at meetings and were extremely passive to avoid humiliation. With abusive behavior ranging from verbal to physical no one could be truly an effective part of our anarchist collective.

As DAC became more active and aware, we grew as friends and anarchists together. Our personal and "political" lives were so intertwined that many problems that went on within DAC and in our personal lives were almost inseparable. The situation was allowed to continue because of the deep emotional bonds that had formed between us all. Although we had progressed in countless ways, the sexism worsened. Our friendships ran deep and in many ways it was difficult to confront it and see how it was affecting and segregating us. Because the sexism wasn't brought to light our collective was rapidly deteriorating.

In the recent past things have vastly improved within the collective and in our personal lives. At first, the ways we dealt with the situation were subtle and certainly not confrontational. Had it been the issue of racism the issue would have been confronted and dealt with. This shows how deeply entrenced sexism is in society and in ourselves. However, as individuals and anarchists we gradually dealt with the issue of sexism each on our own and as a whole. Both male and female sexism has been confronted and discussed openly. Wimmin and men play active roles in our collective. Those unwilling to accept this change and grow as a part of our collective are no longer a part of it.

No one is free from sexism. It is a hard task to rid ourselves of the conditioning forced upon us our whole lives, but by confronting it in an assertive way in ourselves and in others we have all grown. We are constantly trying to help each other work through sexist tendencies embedded in us all by dealing with it as openly and honestly as possible.

Within our own communities we need to combat sexism, racism and homophobia in an assertive and positive manner. These problems still exist within the anarchis movement. The government may crumble but the state that exists within ourselves will continue to divide and oppress us. It is this state that we must smash if we truly want to create a new world. The government has no trouble keeping us down when so many of us are filled with hatred and fear of our brothers and sisters based on their false divisions.★

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Patriarchy, the old sexual double standard, and homophobia are rampant in Cuba. After living openly with another women, two months ago my cousin was forced to undergo electric shock, her medical license was suspended, and the party ran her out of sewing machine and doesn't have to put up with the hierarchy and the bureaucracy.

As in the past, women's main area of responsibility is in the household, no matter how many jobs, paid or volunteer they hold. More responsibility is heaped on women while the policies that effect everyone suffer. Women speaking to their men and children — no más, no más. Women along with men and children taking to the streets. In effect, a revolution.★

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selves until we take an alternative route.

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Dema is a member of the Love and Rage *production group. For more infomation about her study group, call (212) 674-0092.*

WOMEN'S RAGE AND

BY SHANNONBROOKE MURPHY

Toronto is endowed with a large, culturally and politically diverse feminist community. Here, the debate around women's right to autonomous organization is long left behind in the dust. The past few years have seen enormously constructive (although not always easy) challenges to mainstream, white and middle class feminists by the increasingly well-organized, radical cutting edge of Black, Asian and First Nation women. These women are pushing the parameters and shaking the foundations laid by those who had settled in to race and class-priviledged feminism: exclusionist, reformist, academic and government-funded.

Among dozens of inspiring, kickass local women's endeavours, the following two rise to the top due to their radical orientation, anti-authoritarian practice and visionary leadership by feminists from communities of colour. The women responsible have injected new life and new critique into the women's movement, and have sharpened the feminist agenda. Not content to suspend belief for the instant "Global Sisterhood" scenario; we are all being pushed to confront, accept and respect differences—to travel the road to a real, substantive unity.

This is a difficult, necessary, continuing process. Women of privilege are hardly eager to give up their albeit meagre power-over-others.

WOMEN'S ACTION AGAINST RACIST POLICING

Responding to Crisis

IN 1989, FOLLOWING THE police shootings of two Black men in separate incidents, a young Black woman passenger in a stolen car was shot at point-blank range by police, paralyzing her. The plight of Sophia Cook galvanized women activists from Black, Asian and First Nation communities to speak out about police harassment, violence, discriminatory application of the law and shootings. The call for an independent civilian investigative body, at the very least, was taken up and given voice by the Women's Coalition Against Racism and Police Violence (WAARP).

Police racism, homophobia, sexual harassment and rape, intense patrolling in poor neighbourhoods in the name of the "war on drugs" and discriminatory enforcement of the law were named as women's issues, and, for the first time, found themselves firmly on the feminist agenda at International Women's Day. Police refusal to respond to domestic violence calls, harassment and assault of sex trade workers, charging of women who fight back against sexual assault and battery and police inaction in the face of queerbashing are sources of continuing community rage.

Meanwhile, the Metro Toronto Police release race-based crime statistics singling out the Black and Chinese/Vietnamese communities as being "more prone to violence and crime." An Asian Crime Unit was set up to step-up foot patrols in Chinese neighbourhoods and to more closely monitor "immigrants."

Since then, the machinations of the (in)justice system have caused many communities to question reliance on or cooperation with police. The lesbian and gay community, which had set up a queer bashing hotline and had tried to "sensitize" the police to their concerns, all but backed off police collusion after receiving numerous reports of police assault on their hotline. Following the overturn of the "rape shield law," the Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres made a public statement disavowing their faith in the law enforcement and court system, urging women to use alternative means of justice. Both the gay and Native communities have instituted street patrols, which act in the interest of and are controlled by their own communities in an exploration of collective self-defense.

This organizing was instrumental in challenging the race and class priviledged agenda of the women's movement. What working class woman has not experienced police harassment, or at least know someone who has done jail time? To view police with suspicion and contempt is second nature, but middle class women's organizations have been slower to internalize the idea of police as enemies, clinging to the liberal notion of police as defenders and protectors—as reformable.

The original Women's Coalition dissolved after a year and a half due to difficulty reconciling attention to the needs of individual women who have experienced police harassment and violence with the need for action to challenge institutional racism and the growing atmosphere of the police state. When combined with the tensions inherent in forming a cross-cultural coalition, and the demands of community-specific organizing, it was too much to maintain in a mass-based, coalition form as originally conceived.

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that their rations were much lower than women who worked outside the home and that they spend the better part of their day waiting on line for measly rations and trading and buying on the black market. When I visited them, these same women had gone without eating for 3 or 4 days so that their children could have something to eat. Because as housewives and working mothers, women bear the responsibility of keeping the family together, out of necessity they have become outspoken about their dissatisfaction with the system. "No lo crea, nada trabaja aqui." my mother's female cousin said to me in private after someone stated that the system has faults, but after all...Don't believe him, nothing works here.

Even though younger husbands helped their wives with household chores and childbearing, they felt angry about having to do it, complaining that their fathers don't have to do it.

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Women live under the load of two oppresive systems — that of the ruling Party and that of male power. While the Federation of Cuban Women has made some inroads, most of all in the professional classes, women's actual working lives are restrained, with fewer chances of promotion than men. My aunt quit her hospital job, her work was not recognized and appreciated. She makes the same amount of money working at home on her sewing machine and doesn't have to put up with the hierarchy and the bureaucracy.

As in the past, women's main area of responsibility is in the household, no matter how many jobs, paid or volunteer they hold. More responsibility is heaped on women while the policies that effect everyone Whether in private for fear of informers and harrassment or publicity, like the poet Maria Elena Cruz Varela (who was subsecuently sentenced to two years imprisionment) it seems to me that more women than men openly oppose Castro's regime.

I feel that if there is to be a true revolution on the island of Cuba it will come from women. Women refusing to keep quiet about the injustices they and their children suffer. Women speaking to their men and children — no más, no más. Women along with men and children taking to the streets. In effect, a revolution.★

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own communities. For one thing, it's a great way to pool literary resources. My access to feminist thought has quadrupled since my affiliation with this study group. Another cool aspect to it is that it's all wimmin. I find that having no "male perspectives" on what we read or within the discussions gives it an actual revolutionary flare. Considering that education is for men about men by men, wimmin aren't going to learn our own power, or claim ourselves until we take an alternative route.

Wimmins study groups can not only provide a forum for reclamation, but can potentially supply a source of emotional support. Wimmins support is necessary because not only does the extreme oppression and suppression of wimmin

wimmin. That in and of itself usually makes the information more accesible, because no matter what our class backgrounds, inevitably, we share the common oppression of being wimmin. To me, that makes it more valid than their "male words" I'm used to reading.

More explicitly, this type of education doesn't teach us what we need to survive in a "man's world." Our kind teaches us to recognize how the man's world poisons and enslaves us, and through discussion, we can come up with some totally crushing ways to deal with it.

Obviously, men have to deal with their sexism, but considering most of them don't, I don't think they can be successfully integrated into our learning /reclamation process at this point. Many of us are still vulnerable, and they can be quick to slide back into their controlling roles — not to progressive....

Over all the whole thing has been an amazing experience and I totally encourage wimmin to take education, and the revolution in our own hands and quit waiting for "them" to teach us how to do it.★

Dema is a member of the Love and Rage *production group. For more infomation about her study group, call (212) 674-0092.*

WOMEN'S RAGE AND

BY SHANNONBROOKE MURPHY

Toronto is endowed with a large, culturally and politically diverse feminist community. Here, the debate around women's right to autonomous organization is long left behind in the dust. The past few years have seen enormously constructive (although not always easy) challenges to mainstream, white and middle class feminists by the increasingly well-organized, radical cutting edge of Black, Asian and First Nation women. These women are pushing the parameters and shaking the foundations laid by those who had settled in to race and class-priviledged feminism: exclusionist, reformist, academic and government-funded.

Among dozens of inspiring, kickass local women's endeavours, the following two rise to the top due to their radical orientation, anti-authoritarian practice and visionary leadership by feminists from communities of colour. The women responsible have injected new life and new critique into the women's movement, and have sharpened the feminist agenda. Not content to suspend belief for the

police to their concerns, all but backed off police collusion after receiving numerous reports of police assault on their hotline. Following the overturn of the "rape shield law," the Canadian Association of Sexual Assault Centres made a public statement disavowing their faith in the law enforcement

attention to the needs of individual women who have experienced police harassment and violence with the need for action to challenge institutional racism and the growing atmosphere of the police state. When combined with the tensions inherent in forming a cross-cultural coalition, and the demands of community-spe-

A REVOLUTION, IN EFFECT

Opposing Patriarchy in Cuba

BY ALINA AVILA

THE SITUATION OF women in Cuba is like the old saying — "Man hunched over, woman lower." Men and women feel powerless, but where some young men in their 20's told me they were thinking of taking a raft out to the Florida Straits, women were more resigned, less prone to thinking about ways to escape. It may be interpreted this way women feel they have a greater stake, greater responsibility in Cuban society. Housewives with small children complained that their rations were much lower than women who worked outside the home and that they spend the better part of their day waiting on line for measly rations and trading and buying on the black market. When I visited them, these same women had gone without eating for 3 or 4 days so that their children could have something to eat. Because as housewives and working mothers, women bear the responsibility of keeping the family together, out of necessity they have become outspoken about their dissatisfaction with the system. "No lo crea, nada trabaja aqui." my mother's female cousin said to me in private after someone stated that the system has faults, but after all...Don't believe him, nothing works here.

Even though younger husbands helped their wives with household chores and childbearing, they felt angry about having to do it, complaining that their fathers don't have to her job and home. No one in the family knows where she lives now, they, especially her father, are ashamed of her. He has disavowed her and considers her dead.

Women live under the load of two oppresive systems — that of the ruling Party and that of male power. While the Federation of Cuban Women has made some inroads, most of all in the professional classes, women's actual working lives are restrained, with fewer chances of promotion than men. My aunt quit her hospital job, her work was not recognized and appreciated. She makes the same amount of money working at home on her

are made mostly by priveleged white males, a ruling elite. But instead of thinking of escaping the island like many men dream of, women's feet are firmly planted on Cuban soil. Whether in private for fear of informers and harrassment or publicity, like the poet Maria Elena Cruz Varela (who was subsecuently sentenced to two years imprisionment) it seems to me that more women than men openly oppose Castro's regime.

I feel that if there is to be a true revolution on the island of Cuba it will come from women. Women refusing to keep quiet about the injustices they and their children

KNOWLEDGE IS EMPOWERMENT

BY DEMA CRASSY

Howdy. I'm involved with an anarcha-feminist study group in NY. It's a pretty festive thing for several reasons, and hopefully talking about them will encourage other wimmin to initiate or participate in them within their own communities. For one thing, it's a great way to pool literary resources. My access to feminist thought has quadrupled since my affiliation with this study group. Another cool aspect to it is that it's all wimmin. I find that having no "male perspectives" on what we read or within the discussions gives it an actual revolutionary flare. Considering that education is for men about men by men, wimmin aren't going to learn our own power, or claim our-

and feminist thought exist within the society at large, but also within the anarchist community, including the Love and Rage Network (of 174 articles counted, spanning most of the issues of *Love and Rage*, 139 were written by men, and 35 by wimmin). On top of all that, theres the basic advantage of reading things, talking about them, and learning from them.

A study group of this nature is far from being a generic learning experience. Usually educational "text books" are written by crusty, dry men. The stuff we read is written by wimmin. That in and of itself usually makes the information more accesible, because no matter what our class backgrounds, inevitably, we share the common oppression of being wimmin. To me, that makes it more valid than their "male words" I'm used to reading.

More explicitly, this type of education doesn't teach us what we need to survive in a "man's world." Our kind teaches us to recognize how the man's world poisons and enslaves us, and through discussion, we can come up with some totally crushing ways to deal with it.

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Over all the whole thing has been an amazing experience and I totally encourage wimmin

the Spanish invasion and contributing to a sharpening of the machismo and misogyny were these facts.

In the conquest of the Aztec people (excellent fighters, ruled and controlled by fighting chiefs and priests with an emperor at the helm chosen by divine mandate) the idea of losing and being conquered by the invaders was unacceptable and here is where one of the strongest misogynist conceptions arose that permeates Mexican society; they blame Malinche (guide and translator of Hernán Cortés) — considered the traitor woman — for the downfall of the imperial Aztec nation. There are events that explain the different attitudes of Latin American and North American (US and Canada) societies towards women. Many invaders (Spanish and English) reperlative machismo and the tendency towards hierarchy of the leaders relegated the role of women to that of the *Adelitas* — women who participated in the armed struggle, called derogatorily, "camp followers." Their heroinism was recognized only as the wife or self-denying and self-sacrificing women who stood by her man at every moment, following him even into battle. As a result of this "revolution" a real emancipation that would give way to a liberated society wasn't gained, but lamentably old values triumphed masked as revolutionary ideas and not the anarchist ideas and libertarian program that was strongly rooted in the revolutionary movement. In those times of "revolutionary" struggle a personage surfaces that is intimately related to Mexican machismo:

fact: we have the inalienable right over our bodies and lives. Another example of how this right is dealt with in a mistaken way is in the conclusions that the noted "feminist" Martha Lamas arrives at in an article published in the magazine *Este Pais* (This Country) last November 12, where she calls for a referendum on the right to an abortion. Would someone question a referendum on the right to walk or the right to breathe? Equally, the right to choose and the right to control our bodies is unquestionably ours, and neither the state, the church, any patriarchal institution and in particular no man can deny or regulate us.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this article, ominous patriarchal values prevail even in the alternative community.

We haven't been able to eradicate all these wrongs that continue to oppress us

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Ugly Fringe Groups Get Outta Hand

BY KEDZIE THROOP

AN UNUSUAL GATHERING in Chicago of self styled "medical professionals" turned ugly last June 24 (1991)when a militant heterosexual group seized twenty-seven persons, held them several hours, and injured many more.

The group, which calls itself "The Chicago Police Department" lived up to its name — policing the expressions of numerous passersby regarding accessible healthcare, safer sex education and other civic matters.

The "Police Department" had gathered in front of the Chicago Hilton and Towers hotel, apparently in support of the American Medical Association, which was meeting there. The AMA is a special interest pressure group that favors a system whereby citizens "pay" for healthcare.

Citizens have long suspected the Hilton as a refuge for the wealthy and anti-social.

Apparently with little provocation, the "Police Department," clad in gang colors of blue and black ("officers" wear white and black), and armed with handguns, donned rubber gloves as a symbol of their belief that only non-heterosexuals are HIV positive, and that HIV is contagious, not infectious.

Taunting passersby with perceived insults such as "dyke" and "faggot," the "Police" rushed small knots of citizens, seized some, and pestered them with questions like, "What's your position on the Hyde amendment? Think you should see the doctor for free, huh? You some kinda commie?" the last of which, witnesses reported, was so bizarre it defied answer.

This extraordinary behavior quickly turned ugly, however, when the "Police" began throwing people to the ground, ganging up on individuals they had isolated, and apparently trying to injure people deliberately.

According to witness, some people simply struggled to break free, while others defended themselves powerfully against their attackers. News organizations sympathetic with the "Police" reported that a man had bitten a "police officer" and that the "officer" was to receive an HIV test.

Some citizens found this puzzling. "It does seem odd that they would defend profit-driven healthcare, and then waste their money on unnecessary procedures," said one. "But then it's their money," she added.

When informed that the "Police" might have the power to tax the citizenry to pay for the test, tempers began to flare. "Those funds, after all, are needed to fight HIV," a witness declared.

That, indeed, seemed to be yesterday's pattern.

"At first we thought they were being cute. All those uniforms, and running around giving people commands. But when they told us what their agenda was — queers in the closet, no healthcare for poor people, straight white men in charge of all kinds of decisions for other people — we started challenging them," stated a passerby.

That challenge — chanting at first, then signs and banners as citizens whipped out their markers and paint — was too much for the authoritarian fringe group to tolerate. They summoned their "Mounted Unit," a pro-animal-slavery auxiliary, and began taking citizens away in specially-painted trucks.

Targeted for special viciousness were those citizens who suggested to members of the "Police" gang that not all their brothers and sisters in arms were "straight."

Equally strange events, meanwhile, were transpiring inside the Hilton. According to witnesses, a woman was addressing the AMA about the healthcare needs of people living with AIDS when a character known as the Vice President of the United States of America mounted the stage, shouted her down and began speaking loudly about denying healthcare to many people who might be unable to "pay." The woman was ejected by the Vice President's so-called "security detail.."

The AMA meeting and the "Police" attack reminded some witnesses of their liberties, for which so many have sacrificed so much.

"Thank goodness we live on a free planet, where diversity is seen as beautiful, and no privileged sector of society has power over an oppressed sector, and everyone always has their markers and paint handy," several were heard to remark.

As the authoritarian gang dispersed, the passersby drew together to sing their anthem, which reporters were unable to make out, because it seemed most citizens were singing different songs. ★

plied in everyday practice.

Unfortunately, in the sectors where there is supposedly interest in changing the situation of human beings there exists little if no in-depth discussion, indispensable for real change in the society that we criticize and for the rise of the new society that we are seeking.

One of the principal causes of this blindness is the institutionalized machismo that throughout history has taken root in our minds and manifests itself in every moment of our lives.

We live in a patriarchal society that extends far and wide around the planet, in whichever part of the world (on a large or small scale) the authority of the "male" makes its mark on the rest of the planet's living beings.

If we go back to the history of Latin America we would find that in the prespanish native societies machismo was already manifested (evident) in the treatment of women who were relegated to an inferior plane. To this wrong was added the lamentable successive histories we have lived beginning with the Spanish invasion and contributing to a sharpening of the machismo and misogyny were these facts.

In the conquest of the Aztec people (excellent fighters, ruled and controlled by fighting chiefs and priests with an emperor at the helm chosen by divine mandate) the idea of losing and being conquered by the invaders was unacceptable and here is where one of the strongest misogynist conceptions arose that permeates Mexican society; they blame Malinche (guide and translator of Hernán Cortés) — considered the traitor woman — for the downfall of the imperial Aztec nation. There are events that explain the different attitudes of Latin American and North American (US and Canada) societies towards women. Many invaders (Spanish and English) re-

to the subjugation of the natives and the impotence against the invader, provoked the discrimination and the rejection of women on the part of the men of their own communities. Women doubly put down.

With the war for independence (1810), emancipation and liberation did not come about. The only thing produced was a break with the Spanish Crown where the Creoles (the sons and daughters of the Spanish born in the colonies) and the clergy of the ex-colony assumed political and administrative power, inheriting the patriarchal values and taking charge of maintaining them in the newborn nation. Women, mestizos and natives stayed subordinate to the new dominant class, under the same conditions: humiliated, poor and dispossessed. It wasn't until 100 years later, with the eruption of the Revolution (1910) when all the humiliated and dispossessed empowered themselves and took part in the fight for their rights.

It is because of this that the participation of women played such an important role in the revolutionary struggle of the Mexican insurrection. However, the superlative machismo and the tendency towards hierarchy of the leaders relegated the role of women to that of the *Adelitas* — women who participated in the armed struggle, called derogatorily, "camp followers." Their heroinism was recognized only as the wife or self-denying and self-sacrificing women who stood by her man at every moment, following him even into battle. As a result of this "revolution" a real emancipation that would give way to a liberated society wasn't gained, but lamentably old values triumphed masked as revolutionary ideas and not the anarchist ideas and libertarian program that was strongly rooted in the revolutionary movement. In those times of "revolutionary" struggle a personage surfaces that is intimately related to Mexican machismo:

lives. Domestic violence, sexual violations, prostitution are everyday occurrences that demonstrate this. A concrete example of how the government, the church and the institutions that are in power control our bodies is the illegality of abortion. The church and "pro-life" terrorists groups are the principal obstacle to the legalizing of abortion. The PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) dictatorship doesn't cede because of the pressure of economic groups that support the position of the Church. However, within the Mexican feminist movement and in the program of organizations like the Academy for Human Rights, you'd suppose you would find positions favoring the control of our lives, but they trip up with attitudes that better said appear to curtail our rights, instead of demanding them. The position of the Academy for Human Rights is more centered on the depenalization of abortion (arguing that the illegality of abortion is used by the police to extort money from women who have or perform one and that in practice it isn't really penalized) instead of making amends with the fundamental fact: we have the inalienable right over our bodies and lives. Another example of how this right is dealt with in a mistaken way is in the conclusions that the noted "feminist" Martha Lamas arrives at in an article published in the magazine *Este Pais* (This Country) last November 12, where she calls for a referendum on the right to an abortion. Would someone question a referendum on the right to walk or the right to breathe? Equally, the right to choose and the right to control our bodies is unquestionably ours, and neither the state, the church, any patriarchal institution and in particular no man can deny or regulate us.

As I mentioned at the beginning of this article, ominous patriarchal values prevail even in the alternative community.

We haven't been able to eradicate all these wrongs that continue to oppress us

discussion. The conclusions were the same as always: "Yes we support you, but this is not the right time," "form another work table" (as if machismo and sexism were problems of women and not everyone's). The discussion was relegated to a future meeting and the formation of a women's study group. Fortunately the meeting and the forming of a study group took place and future meetings are planned, which is advantageous to our growing and formation but our efforts to gain our rights and our emancipation shouldn't end here, we should be more combatant and face this oppression.

Patriarchy is a global wrong that oppresses all of us (whites, African, Native, etc.) in every part of the world, it's because of this that we need to be in solidarity in our struggle and we should educate and create a consciousness in our male comrades that it is a problem for all us; that they have a responsibility to change their attitudes and to smash patriarchy once and for all. ★

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Anarchist Youth Federation

MACHISMO IN MEXICO

A Score to Settle

BY ANA L. HERNANDEZ (FROM MEXICO)

WHEN ONE SPEAKS OF SEXISM, patriarchy, machismo, reproductive rights, the emancipation of women and their actual situation, there comes to mind an infinity of articles, pamphlets, theses, discourses, debates and talks that this subject has generated, developed from all the ideological points of view that exist.

This article is written with an anarchafeminist focus and is centered on these issues, coming from the experience of living in a beautiful and macho Mexico.

To begin with, we should keep in mind that there are subjects that are taboo in Mexican society and in the alternative movement as well; words like sexism, homophobia, patriarchy, among others, are not universally part of the language, are not argued about, nor are they applied in everyday practice.

Unfortunately, in the sectors where there is supposedly interest in changing the situation of human beings there exists little if no in-depth discussion, indispensable for real change in the society that we criticize and for the rise of the new society that we are seeking.

One of the principal causes of this blindness is the institutionalized machismo that throughout history has taken root in our minds and manifests itself in every moment of our lives.

We live in a patriarchal society that extends far and wide around the planet, in whichever part of the world (on a large or small scale) the authority of the "male" makes its mark on the rest of the planet's living beings.

If we go back to the history of Latin America we would find that in the prespanish native societies machismo was already manifested (evident) in the treatment of women who were relegated to an inferior plane. To this wrong was added the lamentable successive histories we have lived beginning with the Spanish invasion and contributing to produced their respective patriarchal patrons and committed bloody genocide. The first Spanish invaders were men whereas the English invaders immigrated in whole colonies. The Spanish not only needed the Native populations to be utilized for the exploitation of their resources but also the native women, who were exploited and used by the invaders, converting in this manner Spanish America to Mestiza (half spanish/native) while North America was converted to "white."

The violation and abuse of women, added to the subjugation of the natives and the impotence against the invader, provoked the discrimination and the rejection of women on the part of the men of their own communities. Women doubly put down.

With the war for independence (1810), emancipation and liberation did not come about. The only thing produced was a break with the Spanish Crown where the Creoles (the sons and daughters of the Spanish born in the colonies) and the clergy of the ex-colony assumed political and administrative power, inheriting the patriarchal values and taking charge of maintaining them in the newborn nation. Women, mestizos and natives stayed subordinate to the new dominant class, under the same conditions: humiliated, poor and dispossessed. It wasn't until 100 years later, with the eruption of the Revolution (1910) when all the humiliated and dispossessed empowered themselves and took part in the fight for their rights.

It is because of this that the participation of women played such an important role in the revolutionary struggle of the Mexican insurrection. However, the superlative machismo and the tendency "El Charro." The stereotype that represents the maximum exponent of sexism. Paradoxically it appears associated with the image of the combatant "revolutionary"; the violent man, with a large sombrero, pistols, drunken and with lots of women at his disposal.

Similar situations are produced throughout Latin America and we find homologies of El Charro in everyone of their countries; for example the "Gaucho" of Argentina.

In the Mexico of today, the situation hasn't changed, the control and oppression of women is evident at every stage of our lives. Domestic violence, sexual violations, prostitution are everyday occurrences that demonstrate this. A concrete example of how the government, the church and the institutions that are in power control our bodies is the illegality of abortion. The church and "pro-life" terrorists groups are the principal obstacle to the legalizing of abortion. The PRI (Institutional Revolutionary Party) dictatorship doesn't cede because of the pressure of economic groups that support the position of the Church. However, within the Mexican feminist movement and in the program of organizations like the Academy for Human Rights, you'd suppose you would find positions favoring the control of our lives, but they trip up with attitudes that better said appear to curtail our rights, instead of demanding them. The position of the Academy for Human Rights is more centered on the depenalization of abortion (arguing that the illegality of abortion is used by the police to extort money from women who have or perform one and that in practice it isn't really penalized) instead of making amends with the fundamental fact: we have the inalienable right over our in our everyday lives, impeding the real advance of our ideas. The recent experiences lived by the women attending the Anarchist Gathering that took place in Ocotepec, Mexico is further proof of how these attitudes exist in places where we suppose they do not exist.

To begin with, the attendance of women in relation to the total participation was minimal; as always the care of children, the cleaning and cooking were "attended" by women (and nobody paid attention to these details): women's issues were never included as a part of the program and when the issue came up at one of the work tables (table #2 — discussing "Culture, Organization and Education") the majority of the men did not permit the development of an in-depth discussion despite the protest and effort that we made to continue such a discussion. The conclusions were the same as always: "Yes we support you, but this is not the right time," "form another work table" (as if machismo and sexism were problems of women and not everyone's). The discussion was relegated to a future meeting and the formation of a women's study group. Fortunately the meeting and the forming of a study group took place and future meetings are planned, which is advantageous to our growing and formation but our efforts to gain our rights and our emancipation shouldn't end here, we should be more combatant and face this oppression.

Patriarchy is a global wrong that oppresses all of us (whites, African, Native, etc.) in every part of the world, it's because of this that we need to be in solidarity in our struggle and we should educate and create a consciousness in our male comrades that it is a problem for all us; that they have a responsibility to change their attitudes and to smash patriarchy once and for all. ★

the US population supports a woman's right to choose abortion (65% of women and 63% of men according to a recent Gallup poll), legislators, being mostly rich, old, conservative white men, consistently ignore what most of the population wants. The Supreme Court is electorally accountable to no one, and has become increasingly reactionary as Reagan and Bush have added their nominees. It is unclear how the current court will vote on upcoming abortion cases, but it is certain that the previous strong and stable majority in favor of reproductive rights is gone.

The attack on reproductive rights has not been limited to the legal arena. Groups such as Operation Rescue (OR) have escalated their tactics of blocking access to women's health clinics and harassing women attempting to obtain abortions. Strong clinic defense movements exist in cities such as San Francisco, New York, and Boston; consequently OR has tended to shift its focus to smaller, more conservative areas where they have less opposition. Last year a federal court essentially ruled in favor of OR's tactics by failing to prohibit OR from blocking clinics in Wichita, Kansas.

The current effort to restrict reproductive rights is part of the conservative program to force women back into traditional roles and impose a narrow definition of morality. In today's worsening economic climate, reactionaries are gaining strength by blaming the country's problems on people of color, feminists, "liberals," and all those who have attempted to change the patriarchal and oligarchical status quo. Those who wish to prohibit abortion deny women's status as responsible moral agents capable of making their own decisions. Reproductive freedom is a crucial part of the right to economic and sexual freedom. It is important to look at the attack on abortion rights as part of an overall program of reaction that must be fought on all fronts.

GRASSROOTS STRATEGIES ARE NEEDED

Given the dismal legislative situation and the government and police support (whether active or passive) of anti-abortionists, more and more people are acknowledging the need to develop ways

health and reproductive resources that existed in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Tragically, when abortion was legalized in 1973, many people began to take reproductive rights for granted, and put their faith in the state and the medical establishment, allowing grassroots efforts to whither and die. Luckily, some of the women who were part of the earlier efforts are still around, like the Federation of Feminist Women's Health Centers in California, and they are making their knowledge and resources available to today's activists. Many of today's health workers and clinic staffers are dedicated to reproductive freedom and will try to continue to provide services even if they are against the law. More self-help collectives are forming, in which small groups of women meet regularly to learn about their bodies and their health, learn to do vaginal self-examination, provide mutual support, and in some cases learn and practice menstrual extraction.

Menstrual extraction is a technique developed by self-helpers in 1971. It involves using simple tools (a syringe, mason jar, valve, tubing, and canula) to extract the contents of the uterus. It can be used as a simple method of early abortion (up to the fifth week), or on a regular basis to extract menstrual fluid (to shorten the period and reduce cramps). Menstrual extraction is similar to the most common form of clinical abortion, the vacuum aspiration (suction) method. In the early stages of pregnancy this is a simple procedure that requires no incisions or general anaesthesia. Women trained to do menstrual extraction could perform suction abortions for more advanced pregnancies, although these require more cervical dilation and a stronger equipment (a suction pump) than for a menstrual extraction.

Underground abortions were performed by a group in Chicago called the "Jane Collective" in the early 1970's. In is early days "Jane" used the services of sympathetic doctors, but women in the collective learned to perform abortions themselves after they became aware that one of their "doctors" was not licensed. The collective operated under conditions of strict secrecy due to the threat of arrests for homicide. "Jane" is a good model for the type of services that activists might provide if abortion is

Another avenue for grassroots activists is to explore and reclaim knowledge of alternatives to surgical abortion. Many of these alternatives involve herbal and holistic methods. Throughout the ages women have used these methods to control their fertility and reproduction. It is only is the last century, as part of an effort to repress sexuality (especially women's sexuality) and to regulate and medicalize health care, that abortion has come under the control of the medical and legal establishment. We are fortunate that the knowledge of alternative methods of contraception and abortion has been kept alive by women in Native American and immigrant communities where Western medicine has not taken hold, and that it is being reclaimed by midwives, witches and herbal healers.

Although herbal methods have been used for millennia to induce abortions, they should not be used casually since they can be very dangerous, even fatal, if used improperly. Knowledge of herbal methods is difficult to come by today. Many herbalists have written books, but unfortunately many of the resources that exist are incomplete or contradictory. Several anarchist and feminist women's self-help groups have taken on the project of collecting and distributing information about herbal abortion, and some groups are carrying out independent research to expand our knowledge of the effects and reliability of these methods. Pennyroyal, mugwort, and black and blue cohosh are the herbs most often recommended to induce early abortion. Cotton root bark, rue, parsley, tansey, and yarrow are among the many other herbs commonly mentioned for bringing on menstruation or causing abortion. Traditional Chinese medicine uses Compound Q (trichosanthin). It is important to work with an experienced practitioner if you are interested in alternative abortion methods. Herbalists can sometimes be contacted through feminist bookstores or spiritual/occult stores. Many herbs are available at health food and spiritual stores, although they may become illegal as certain herbs become known as abortion methods.

Other possible alternative abortion techniques include acupuncture and

child. Now is the time to intensify the process of education and organization in order to insure that reproductive choice is a reality for all women, regardless of the law.

The anarchist movement can play a part in this education and organization. At the Love and Rage Network conference this summer several women began to organize an anarcha-feminist health tour. One emphasis of the tour will be reproductive health, and includes encouraging women to learn about their own bodies and menstrual cycles. Another focus will be on developing anarchist and feminist grassroots activism.

Anarchists have a role to play in encouraging liberal and mainstream pro-choice activists to begin thinking about self-help strategies for maintaining and strengthening reproductive rights rather than relying in legal and governmental means. The National Organization for Women (NOW) plans to hold march for reproductive rights in Washington, DC this coming April — this will be the third such march in recent years. The Love and Rage Network is planning an anarchist contingent for this march, and encourages all interested anarchists and anti-authoritarians to take part. While we realize that appealing to politicians has little effect, we can perhaps influence other pro-choice activists by presenting the demand for reproductive freedom from a more radical perspective.

Operation Rescue plans to attempt to shut down all abortion clinics in New York City during the Democratic National Convention this July. Women's Health Action and Mobilization (WHAM), a radical feminist health group, is organizing large-scale counter-demonstrations and clinic escorting. This is another opportunity for anarchists to take part in pro-choice activism, and the Democratic political circus is a perfect opportunity to make our arguments in favor of grassroots, non-governmental, non-legislative strategies.

The day when abortion is again made illegal may come sooner than we like to think, We must be ready to take our bodies and our lives into our own hands.

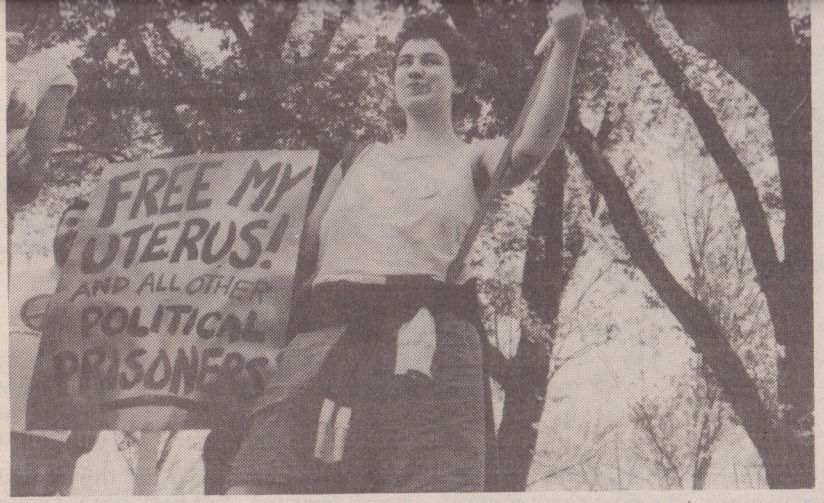
(Continued on page 10)

ability of abortion. Several restrictive laws were passed in the wake of this decision in places such as Louisiana, Guam, and Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania law, which was upheld by a state court, requires that a woman must wait 24 hours after requesting an abortion before she can proceed, during which time she will be given state-provided information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion. The law also requires parental consent for women under 18 (the state court overturned a provision that would have required a woman to obtain her spouse's consent). The Supreme Court decided in late January that it would hear an appeal of the Pennsylvania law, and many people on both the pro-choice and the anti-abortion sides believe that this case may lead to the repeal of *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that legalized abortion during the first two trimesters of pregnancy. The hearings on this case are due to occur in April, with a decision expected by July.

Although some libertarian-minded people believe that it is better for states to make laws than the federal government (since this is a less centralized strategy and theoretically allows for more democratic input), it is dangerous to rely on the government at any level. While the majority of the US population supports a woman's right to choose abortion (65% of women and 63% of men according to a recent Gallup poll), legislators, being mostly rich, old, conservative white men, consistently ignore what most of the population wants. The Supreme Court is electorally accountable to no one, and has become increasingly reactionary as Reagan and Bush have added their nominees. It is unclear how the current court will vote on upcoming abortion cases, but it is certain that the previous strong and stable majority in favor of reproductive rights is gone.

The attack on reproductive rights has not been limited to the legal arena. Groups such as Operation Rescue (OR) have escalated their tactics of blocking access to women's health clinics and harassing women attempting to obtain abortions. Strong clinic defense movements exist in cities such as San Francisco, New York, and Boston; consequently OR has tended to shift its focus to smaller, more conservative areas where they have less opposition. Last year a federal court essentially ruled in favor of OR's tactics by failing to prohibit OR from blocking clinics in Wichita, Kansas.

The current effort to restrict reproductive rights is part of the conservative



emphasize self-help, mutual aid, and the development of institutions that can meet people's needs free of governmental, religious, or corporate control. Since long before *Roe v. Wade*, women have been developing strategies to assure their access to contraception and abortion. It is vital that today's pro-choice activists learn from and build upon these strategies.

One important area of action is to rebuild the network of feminist women's health and reproductive resources that existed in the late 1960's and early 1970's. Tragically, when abortion was legalized in 1973, many people began to take reproductive rights for granted, and put their faith in the state and the medical establishment, allowing grassroots efforts to whither and die. Luckily, some of the women who were part of the earlier efforts are still around, like the Federation of Feminist Women's Health Centers in California, and they are making their knowledge and resources available to today's activists. Many of today's health workers and clinic staffers are dedicated to reproductive freedom and will try to continue to provide services even if they are against the law. More self-help collectives are forming, in which small groups of women meet regularly to learn about their bodies and their health, learn to do vaginal self-examination, provide mutual support, and in some cases learn and practice menstrual extraction.

Menstrual extraction is a technique developed by self-helpers in 1971. It involves using simple tools (a syringe, mason jar, valve, tubing, and canula) to extract the contents of the uterus. It can be used as a simple method of early abortion (up to the fifth week), or on a regular basis to extract

viding travel assistance and a safe place to stay as well as support and counseling. Such services are needed today to help women who must travel from rural areas to major cities in order to find clinics that do abortions, and for young women who may need help negotiating the court system in order to bypass parental consent laws.

ALTERNATIVE ABORTION METHODS

Another avenue for grassroots activists is to explore and reclaim knowledge of alternatives to surgical abortion. Many of these alternatives involve herbal and holistic methods. Throughout the ages women have used these methods to control their fertility and reproduction. It is only is the last century, as part of an effort to repress sexuality (especially women's sexuality) and to regulate and medicalize health care, that abortion has come under the control of the medical and legal establishment. We are fortunate that the knowledge of alternative methods of contraception and abortion has been kept alive by women in Native American and immigrant communities where Western medicine has not taken hold, and that it is being reclaimed by midwives, witches and herbal healers.

Although herbal methods have been used for millennia to induce abortions, they should not be used casually since they can be very dangerous, even fatal, if used improperly. Knowledge of herbal methods is difficult to come by today. Many herbalists have written books, but unfortunately many of the resources that exist are incomplete or contradictory. Sev-

progesterone antagonist pill that causes the fertilized egg to be expelled from the uterus when used between four and six weeks of pregnancy. RU-486 is unavailable to women in the US, largely due to boycott threats by anti-abortionists and the fear of liability lawsuits. Reproductive rights activists can build on the experience of AIDS activists, who have circumvented the federal drug approval process and the pharmaceutical industry by means of Community Research Initiatives, underground distribution networks, "buyer's clubs" that purchase drugs overseas, and the use of alternative methods that are not accepted by the medical establishment. We could create "Feminist Research Initiatives" to compile the information and experiences of women practicing alternative contraception and abortion methods, and establish underground channels to widely disseminate this information.

ANARCHIST PRO-CHOICE ACTIVISM

The state and the church cannot be allowed to take away a woman's right to make the most fundamental personal decisions such as whether or not to bear a child. Now is the time to intensify the process of education and organization in order to insure that reproductive choice is a reality for all women, regardless of the law.

The anarchist movement can play a part in this education and organization. At the Love and Rage Network conference this summer several women began to organize an anarcha-feminist health tour. One emphasis of the tour will be reproductive health, and includes encouraging women to learn about their own bodies and menstrual cycles. Another focus will be on developing anarchist and feminist grassroots activism.

Anarchists have a role to play in encouraging liberal and mainstream pro-choice activists to begin thinking about self-help strategies for maintaining and strengthening reproductive rights rather than relying in legal and governmental means. The National Organization for Women (NOW) plans to hold march for reproductive rights in Washington, DC this coming April — this will be the third such march in recent years. The Love and Rage Network is planning an anarchist contingent for this march, and encourages all interested anarchists and anti-authoritarians to take part. While we realize that appealing to politicians has little effect, we can

Reproductive Freedom in Everyday Life

BY LIZ A. HIGHLEYMAN

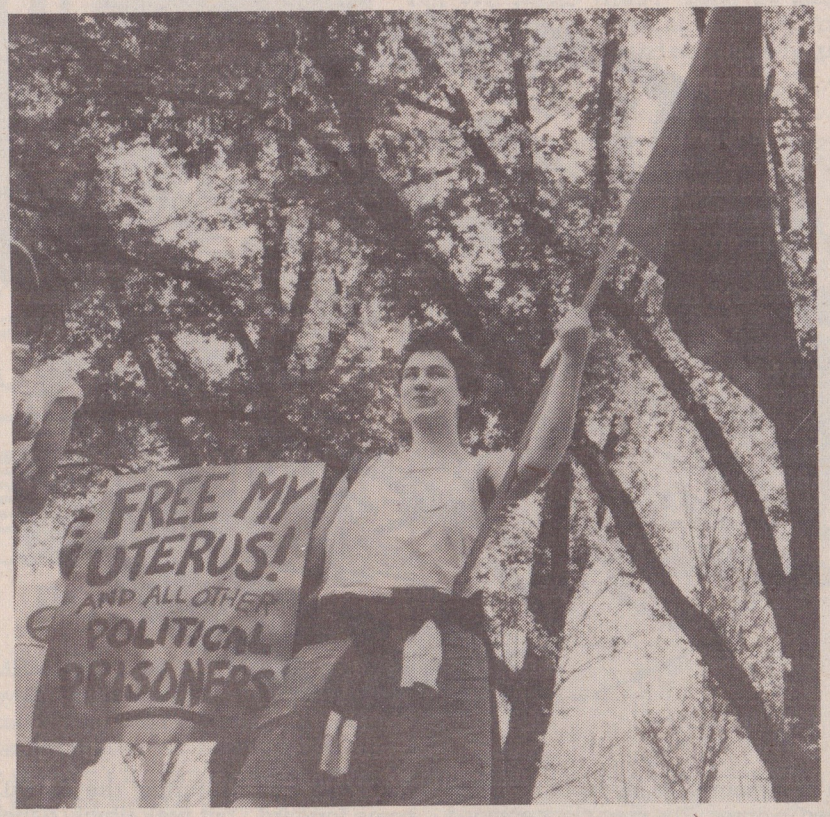
FOR MUCH OF THE PAST DECADE, our reproductive rights have been threatened. Right-wing religious groups and conservative politicians are more and more eroding the right of women to control their bodies and their lives. The legal climate surrounding abortion is increasingly frightening. Last year Congress failed to override George Bush's veto of a law to overturn the "gag rule." This rule forbids counsellors at publicly funded health services to mention abortion as a pregnancy option, or to refer women to abortion providers. Fortunately, many clinics and counsellors are committed to providing full health information despite this law.

The legal attack on abortion rights intensified in July 1989 when the Supreme Court, in its *Webster* decision, gave the states increased power to limit the availability of abortion. Several restrictive laws were passed in the wake of this decision in places such as Louisiana, Guam, and Pennsylvania. The Pennsylvania law, which was upheld by a state court, requires that a woman must wait 24 hours after requesting an abortion before she can proceed, during which time she will be given state-provided information about fetal development and alternatives to abortion. The law also requires parental consent for women under 18 (the state court overturned a provision that would have required a woman to obtain her spouse's consent). The Supreme Court decided in late January that it would hear an appeal of the Pennsylvania law, and many people on both the pro-choice and the anti-abortion sides believe that this case may lead to the repeal of *Roe v. Wade*, the 1973 decision that legalized abortion during the first two trimesters of pregnancy. The hearings on this case are due to occur in April, with a decision expected by July.

Although some libertarian-minded people believe that it is better for states to make laws than the federal government (since this is a less centralized strategy and theoretically allows for more democratic input), it is dangerous to rely on the government at any level. While the majority of

to protect reproductive freedom that do not depend on the state. Reproductive rights are too important to be left to the whims of the government. Radicals have been saying this for a long time, but increasingly even liberals and the mainstream are interested in finding ways for women to take control of their own lives.

Anarchist programs for social change



emphasize self-help, mutual aid, and the development of institutions that can meet people's needs free of governmental, religious, or corporate control. Since long before *Roe v. Wade*, women have been developing strategies to assure their access to contraception and abortion. It is vital that today's pro-choice activists learn from and build upon these strategies.

One important area of action is to rebuild the network of feminist women's

again made illegal. Despite the real horror stories about "back alley" abortions, there is no necessary connection between safety and legality.

A more immediate step, which can be taken if abortion is made illegal in some states and not others, is to establish an "underground railroad" to assist women who must travel to another state, providing travel assistance and a safe place to stay as well as support and counseling. Such services are needed today to help women who must travel from rural areas to major cities in order to find clinics that do abortions, and for young women who may need help negotiating the court system in order to bypass parental consent laws.

ALTERNATIVE ABORTION METHODS

acupressure, fasting, and hot baths. Vitamin C in large doses (up to six grams a day) has also been reported to be effective. Many other more dangerous methods exist in the folklore that has passed from woman to woman, methods used by desperate women in the days before *Roe V. Wade*. These include lifting heavy objects, jumping from heights, and the infamous coat-hanger and knitting needle. These dangerous techniques will hopefully not become necessary if activists are successful in their grassroots efforts to spread information about safe and more effective abortion alternatives, and develop ways to them available to all women.

Activists can also work in setting up independent non-governmental channels for the research, production and distribution of new contraceptives and abortifacients such as RU-486. RU-486 is a progesterone antagonist pill that causes the fertilized egg to be expelled from the uterus when used between four and six weeks of pregnancy. RU-486 is unavailable to women in the US, largely due to boycott threats by anti-abortionists and the fear of liability lawsuits. Reproductive rights activists can build on the experience of AIDS activists, who have circumvented the federal drug approval process and the pharmaceutical industry by means of Community Research Initiatives, underground distribution networks, "buyer's clubs" that purchase drugs overseas, and the use of alternative methods that are not accepted by the medical establishment. We could create "Feminist Research Initiatives" to compile the information and experiences of women practicing alternative contraception and abortion methods, and establish underground channels to widely disseminate this information.

ANARCHIST PRO-CHOICE ACTIVISM

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the prosecution into context.

HAYMARKET HISTORY

To place the MayDay 29 trial into a historical perspective, it's interesting to take a look at events that took place around May 1, 1886, the first MayDay protest/celebration. Although the political surroundings are different and the issues vary, the way that the state acted in attempting to suppress a movement by framing some people that the police see as dangerous organizers is very similar.

The movement for an eight-hour working day had been growing. On May 1, tens of thousands of workers went on strike across the nation. In Chicago, where most of the industries were paralyzed by the strike, the state militia were out and the police were ready. *The Mail*, a Chicago paper asked that Albert Parsons and August Spies, the anarchist organizers of the International Working People's Association, be watched. "Keep them in view," "Hold them personally responsible for any trouble," "Make an example of them if trouble occurs, " read *The Mail's* editorial.

On May 3-4, a series of events took place which were to put Parsons and Spies in exactly the position that the Mail had suggested. That day, in front of the McCormick Harvester Works, where strikers and sympathizers fought scabs, the police fired into a crowd of strikers running from the scene, killing four. This action by the police led Spies to the print shop to make flyers asking for revenge, and calling the "workingmen" to arms!

A meeting was called for Haymarket Square on the evening of May 4 and about 3,000 people showed up. As the meeting was coming to a close, 180 policemen showed up, advanced on the speaker's platform and ordered the crowd to disperse. The speaker said the meeting was almost over. A bomb then exploded in the midst of the police, wounding 66 policemen, of whom seven later died. The police fired into the crowd, killing several people, and wounding 200.

With no evidence on who threw the bomb, the police arrested eight anarchists in Chicago. Illinois law said that anyone inciting a murder was guilty of the murder. The evidence against the eight anarchists

pression of the radical movement, the long-term effect was to keep alive the class anger of many, and to inspire others.

These tactics are as old as the word oppression; even today, over 100 years later, the political railroading of organizers is alive and well as ever, and the courts are continuing to be used as tools to squash and intimidate political organizing.

ANARCHISTS ON TRIAL

Although no bombs went off on May 1, 1990, the District Attorney (DA)and the police have tried to turn flying bottles into bombs. The movement in and around Tompkins Square Park has been a very painful thorn in the side of the city of New York, and they think by putting away activists and terrorizing the community will ease this pain. The reality is that this movement is diverse and not lead by a small group of people, and therefore is not likely to just disappear.

Much of the tone of the trial was set in the opening statements. Surreal could easily be used to describe the quality of the trial.

Defendant Lori Rizzo, while acting in her own defense, gave a very strong, and personable opening statement. Prosecuting attorney Connolly seemed to object at every other word. Judge Failla, from the very beginning, was fighting to silence any of her words which hinted to issues like squatting, homelessness or anything having to do with the nature of the struggle in and around Tompkins Square. Lori was powerful in her cross-examination, and seemed to get through to the jury, but it was clear the DA and judge were out to make her attempt very difficult. She continued to defend herself for about four weeks, and then decided to let a lawyer, Susan Tipograph, take over. "I decided that I had to make a choice about whether I was going to get my case heard or go to jail," Lori said. Lori, who is one of the more visible activists on the Lower East Side, was being charged with riot and incitement to riot. The jury found Lori not guilty on both counts.

Kenny, who was charged with the same, seemed to be the main course for the ravenous DA. He tried to portray Kenny as one of the "leaders" who by

jured knee, Judge Failla insisted that he get up and dance! It is impossible to truly describe the motions and gyrations of Julian's flailing appendages, but one thing is certainly clear: cops ain't got no rhythym. Note: Inspector Michael Julian is the former Commanding Officer of the 9th precinct, who came in after the 1988 riot in a supposed attempt to heal police relations with the community (ho,ho,ha,ha).

The focus on Kenny made perfect sense, considering that besides being a long-time community activist he has also filed a civil suit against Insp. Julian and Sgt. Steve Marron because of the injuries he received at the hands of the cops. Kenny was found not guilty of riot, but found guilty of incitement to riot, a misdemeanor charge which Kenny will appeal.

John, who was also found not guilty on all charges was the only defendant not arrested the night of May 1. He was arrested two weeks later on May 18, at the first speakout after the riot. John was taken in by Officer Jon Licari, an undercover cop — officially known as an "anti-crime" officer. According to Inspector Julian, "anti-crime officers are used to prevent bottle-throwing and violence." Surely this comes as a great surprise to anyone who has ever been harassed, hit or otherwise abused by these thugs.

Ron Kuby, who is representing John, kept DA Connolly very busy objecting while cross-examining Licari. Kuby's questions of "Did you tell John that you were going to kill him and throw him in a vacant lot or abandoned building?" "Did you take a marker and write 'Free the land' on his face?" "Did you punch him?" must have posed some questions in the jurors' minds, not to mention the surprised look on Licari's face. John was charged with riot and criminal possession of a weapon, (a bottle). He was found not guilty on both charges.

Kuby seemed to have made it clear to the jury that the police have very prejudiced and ignorant views of the defendants and Tompkins Square. While this is obvious to many, some may be surprised that Officer Joseph Quinn claimed events in the park to have included acts of bestiality. Under cross-examination, however, he admitted that he never saw such acts, and in fact he be-

The look on Connolly's face was one of great confusion; certainly his brother had been nowhere near the riot.

Much of the prosecution's "evidence" was from depositions from the cops who are involved in a $7 million civil suit against their commanding officers, Inspector Julian and Captain Sullivan, and also the city of New York. Officers Hernandez, Marron and Flynn contend that they were led into a dangerous situation by Julian.

Some of the other officers who took the stand seem to be better at acting than they are at being cops. Officer Flynn broke into tears on the stand about not being able to have sex, or watch TV [is there some weird connection here?] because of the injuries he sustained after being hit on the head with a flying bottle. He also claimed that his wife had received threatening phone calls that were traced to a phone booth in TSP, and that he was followed home by someone from the park who tried to strangle and stab him. Under cross examination it came out that Flynn had previously been threatened by someone involved with a drug case that he was looking into, yet Flynn still claims that it was someone from the park who followed him home.

While the testimony of the police was so damning but at the same time so ridiculous, the jury was able to see through most of the bullshit. Connolly was mistaken by thinking he could get away with treating the jury as though they had little intelligence. Perhaps he thought that like millions of other Americans they too believed the many "Cops are our heroes and protectors" TV shows filling the airwaves. One would also think that he would have at least brought in one civilian witness.

This trial has been a very effective but unpleasant way of learning about the way the legal system of the US works, and how efficiently the legal system can be manipulated by the state. As Kenny said, "Even before they read you your rights don't say a word, it's all bullshit, you don't have any rights." ★

For more information contact:
Mayday 29 Defense Committee
228 East 10th St #24
New York, NY 10003

in TSP. The concert began as a neighborhood celebration which included artists, musicians and poets, but ended unexpectedly with the police attacking the stage, beating those in their path, pushing some into equipment, and others off the stage. The police claim they "approached" the stage because the last band had gone 10 minutes past 9pm, the time the concert was scheduled to end. Twenty-eight people were arrested that evening and one arrested two weeks later by undercover cops (See *Love and Rage* Vol. 1 No. 3, June 1990 for more info on the riot itself). Most of the people arrested are known activists in and around Tompkins Square Park, and the others were neighborhood residents swept-up by the random police action. Many of the defendants had their charges reduced to misdemeanors, but the remaining five who were facing felony charges maintained their innocence on all but three misdemeanor counts. The May-Day 29 trial has proven to be like most other political trials, where the defendants aren't allowed to introduce evidence that would both prove their innocence, and put the circumstantial evidence being used by the prosecution into context.

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Some evidence came out later that a man named Rudolph Schnaubelt, supposedly an anarchist, was actually an *agent provocateur*, hired to throw the bomb and thus enable the arrest of hundreds, and destroy any revolutionary movement in Chicago. To this day it has not been "proven" who threw the bomb. With this event, the immediate effect was a suppression of the radical movement, the long-term effect was to keep alive the class anger of many, and to inspire others.

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objects being thrown and shouting coming from the juror's room. The objects turned out to be chairs and it was rumored that one juror was threatened with being thrown out of the window of the 15th floor.

Anthony, who was charged with riot and criminal possession of a weapon, was jumped on by two undercover cops that night. Although the prosecution contended that Anthony was throwing a bottle, there was very little evidence to support this. Anthony was found guilty on both counts, but since his age was 17 at the time, it's probable that he will get five years. probation and have to perform community service, while not spending any time in jail.

Besides all of the contradictions and ignorant statements offered by the cops, the incident which will go down in courtroom history was when Sgt. Burke was asked to identify Anthony in the courtroom, he looked straight out to the audience and pointed to a blonde man, (Anthony's hair colour is black) who happened to be DA Connolly's brother, who just happened to be visiting that day. The look on Connolly's face was one of great confusion; certainly his brother had been nowhere near the riot.

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MayDay 29 Victory!

BY LISA NOVACEK

"The most absurd apology for authority and law is that they serve to diminish crime."

Emma Goldman

THE TRIAL THAT SEEMED TO never end has finally come to a close. After a long summer spent without much of a victory fighting to keep Tompkins Square Park (TSP) open, the Squatter/Homeless movement working on the Lower East Side in NYC has reason for celebration.

After four long months spent in court by the defendants at a cost of approximately $1 million to the state, the verdicts for the May Day 29 has shown that the efforts of NYC and the Police Department to persecute political activists are perhaps not as powerful as they had hoped.

The MayDay 29 were a group of people who were arrested on the night of May 1, 1990 after the 4th Annual Resist to Exist/Squatter MayDay concert, held in TSP. The concert began as a neighborhood celebration which included artists, musicians and poets, but ended unexpectedly with the police attacking the stage, beating those in their path, pushing some into equipment, and others off the stage. The police claim they "approached" the stage because the last band had gone 10 minutes past 9pm, the time the concert was scheduled to end. Twenty-eight people were arrested that evening and one arrested two weeks later by undercover cops (See *Love and Rage* Vol. 1 No. 3, June 1990 for more info on the riot itself). Most of the people arrested are known activists in and around Tompkins Square Park, and the others were neighborhood residents swept-up by the random police action. Many of the defendants had their charges reduced to misdemeanors, but the remaining five who were facing felony charges maintained their innocence on all but three misdemeanor counts. The MayDay 29 trial has proven to be like most other political trials, where the defendants aren't allowed to introduce evidence that would both prove their innocence, and put the circumstantial evidence being used by

was their ideas and their literature — none had been at Haymarket that day except Fielden, who was speaking when the bomb exploded. A jury found them guilty and sentenced them to death. Their appeals were denied; the Supreme Court said it had no jurisdiction.

Four of the anarchists were hanged and one blew himself up in his cell by exploding a stick of dynamite in his mouth. Three remained in prison. The executions enraged people internationally; 25,000 marched in a funeral procession in Chicago.

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the gesture of waving arms and a speech on the microphone asking for the people to "Be prepared to break the law tonight" and "Be prepared to resist" is capable of turning the crowd into a riotous frenzy or according to the cops "swarming rats." Kenny's lawyer, James Roth contended that Kenny was not on the microphone that night and in fact was not gesturing the crowd to come forward , but was simply dancing on stage, along with others to the music of Spy vs. Spy — the last scheduled performance of the night. Notorious Police Inspector Julian's testimony concerning Kenny's gesturing led to what has to be one of the most hilarious moments of the trial. Julian was asked by Kenny's lawyer to imitate the type of dancing he witnessed on stage. Although Julian tried to give some lame excuse about not being able to dance because of his in-

lieved that Officer Esposito, who told him, was only repeating a rumor.

Prosecuting attorney Connolly's continued use of buzzwords like "flag burner," "communist," "mohawk haircut" and ridiculous statements like "John was waving the red flag of anarchy," exposed the fact that the state's only hope of swaying the jury was by playing on these possible prejudices. Kuby did attempt to tell the court that there is a difference between Communism and Anarchism, but any discussion of these ideas was repeatedly censored by the court.

One of the more ironic things about the trial was that Tom, a neighborhood resident, who was not even at the concert, or involved with any movement in TSP, was facing the most serious charges of 2nd degree riot and criminal possession of a weapon. The jury could not reach a verdict on his charges, so the result was a hung jury. Although the state can decide to try him again, the fact that 10 out of 12 jurors found him not guilty should only help his case. The jurors were so tense after 12 days of deliberation, that while sitting in the courtroom one could hear objects being thrown and shouting coming from the juror's room. The objects turned out to be chairs and it was rumored that one juror was threatened with being thrown out of the window of the 15th floor.

Anthony, who was charged with riot and criminal possession of a weapon, was jumped on by two undercover cops that night. Although the prosecution contended that Anthony was throwing a bottle, there was very little evidence to support this. Anthony was found guilty on both counts, but since his age was 17 at the time, it's probable that he will get five years. probation and have to perform community service, while not spending any time in jail.

Besides all of the contradictions and ignorant statements offered by the cops, the incident which will go down in courtroom history was when Sgt. Burke was asked to identify Anthony in the courtroom, he looked straight out to the audience and pointed to a blonde man, (Anthony's hair colour is black) who happened to be DA Connolly's brother, who just happened to be visiting that day.

When some comrades asked me to write this article, the question came up: *What type of solidarity should we give Cuba in these difficult times?* Based on our ideological positions, on our revolutionary experience, on our sensibility and on the lessons learned by the collapse of the so called "socialist block," we can't forget the isolation that the Cuban people are experiencing, especially all those who are working for social/political change and self-determination on the island, from an anti-authoritarian and revolutionary perspective. It is for the real revolutionaries and the protagonists of everyday Cuban life — in the fields, in the factories, in the neighborhoods, in the schools, in the universities, for those that don't accept under any circumstances Yanqui aid, or the aid of Yanqui puppet organizations — that this article is written.

Secondly, this article is written for the more reactionary, extreme right-wingers of North America and the Cuban exile community — for Jorge Mas Canosa and his Cuban Amerikkkan Foundation, for Hubert Matos and his Independent and Demokkkratic Cuba, for Richard Boffl and the rest of the opportunists, to the "*Valladares*" and that crew of scoundrels and *caudillos*, followers of men, not ideas. It is to this group that I pose the question: *Aren't you in the least bit suspicious that the same people who supported martial law in Hungary, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, and applauded Tian an Mien Square and the Stalinist Coup in the former USSR, are the same people who applaud Castro and his bourgeois clique?*

Have you asked who is behind organizations like US Hands Off Cuba Coalition? No? Well I think it's time to find out.

With this article I'd like to communicate with each and every one of our readers what the Cuban reality is and to wake up the "left" and the "duped" to show them that there is more beyond the blinders. Outside of their organizations, others are trying to achieve the same objectives, with similar tactics and strategies around the world. And also in Cuba, these groups exist on a smaller scale, with less participation, (because the inalienable right to free association and meetings does not exist) with the same hopes and fighting against the same enemies.

It's inexcusable how the so called "left" (sometimes, cynically, even self proclaimed "radicals") struggles against the "New World Order." And here is the intention of this article: solidarity with the Cuban people. Solidarity not as an abstract concept that is part of a prepackaged ideology, but real solidarity from person to person, worker to worker, ecologist to ecologist, womyn to womyn, homosexual to homosexual, oppressed to oppressed. Concrete solidarity with the people who have gone unrecognized for many years: the people of Cuba.

LAST CALL

The first time I came into contact with anarchist groups, anti-authoritarians and eco-pacifists — Polish, Czecho-Slovakians, Muscovites and Ukrainians — they told me of the lack of support and the little solidarity they received from the outside. Recently a Polish anarcha-feminist was here for an international conference of wimmin and was talking to me about the ample criticisms now heard from the "left" about the dictatorships of the "socialist block" in Eastern Europe. She asked me "where were these groups while we were living under these authoritarian regimes?"

It should be with the people that not only suffer the scarcity caused by a criminal blockade and an interventionist threat, but also suffer one of the most despotic dictatorships in the hemisphere.

Let's be in solidarity with the Cuban people. Let's send them canned goods, cereals, soybeans, new and used clothing, coats, soaps, detergents — in short all that is necessary to survive. Let's organize our own aid committees without state control or inspection and let's give our aid from people to people, with autonomous organizations from around the world, making contacts on the island that will permit the development of a self-administered solidarity.

Let's respond "*presente*" to this last call for solidarity aid and let's send the fuel necessary for the Cuban people to survive and for moving forward but not the fuel for the tanks that can be used to crush them. ★

Gustavo Rodriguez is a Cuban anarchist living in exile in the US.

William Brown is an anarcho-syndicalist, whose cartoon, President Bill, *appears in papers all over. Check out his hilarious book, also called* President Bill.

The following groups suppport *Love and Rage*. If you like what you see in *Love and Rage* and would like to find out more about revolutionary anarchism, contact the group closest to you.

UNITED STATES

Love and Rage Supporters
PO Box 581354
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

Youth Greens
PO Box 7293
Minneapolis, MN 55407

Autonomous Anarchist Action
PO Box 3 Prince St Station
New York, NY 10012

Autonome Forum
PO Box 366
Williamstown, MA 01267

Art Decco
PO Box 12504
Raleigh, NC 27605

Love and Rage
Supporters in Atlanta
PO Box 2234
Decatur, GA 30031-2234

Cincinnati Autonomous
Anarchist Collective
PO Box 19589
Cincinnati, OH 45219

Liberate the Obsessed
PO Box 1916
Belle Fourche, SD 57717

Amor y Rabia
PO Box 45-2001
Miami, FL 33245

Anarchist Youth Federation/NYC
PO Box 365
Canal St Station
New York, NY 10013-0365

Revolutionary Group X
PO Box 6022
Chicago, IL 60680

Circle A Collective
1126 Marais
New Orleans, LA 70116

Anarchist Action Network
Suite 147, 3325 Lorna Rd #2
PO Box 360999
Birmingham, AL 35236

Bay Area Anti-Racist Action
PO Box 3501
Oakland, CA 94609

Atlatl Collective
PO Box 7962
Austin, TX 78713-7962

United Anarchist Front
PO Box 1115
Whittier, CA 90609

Bayou La Rose
PO Box 5464
Tacoma, WA 98405-0464

CANADA

Resistance c/o Friends of Durruti
PO Box 2881
Vancouver, BC V6B 3X4

Outaouais Outrage
PO Box 4051, Station E
Ottawa, ONT K1F 5B1

Arm The Spirit
PO Box 57584 Jackson Station
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4X3

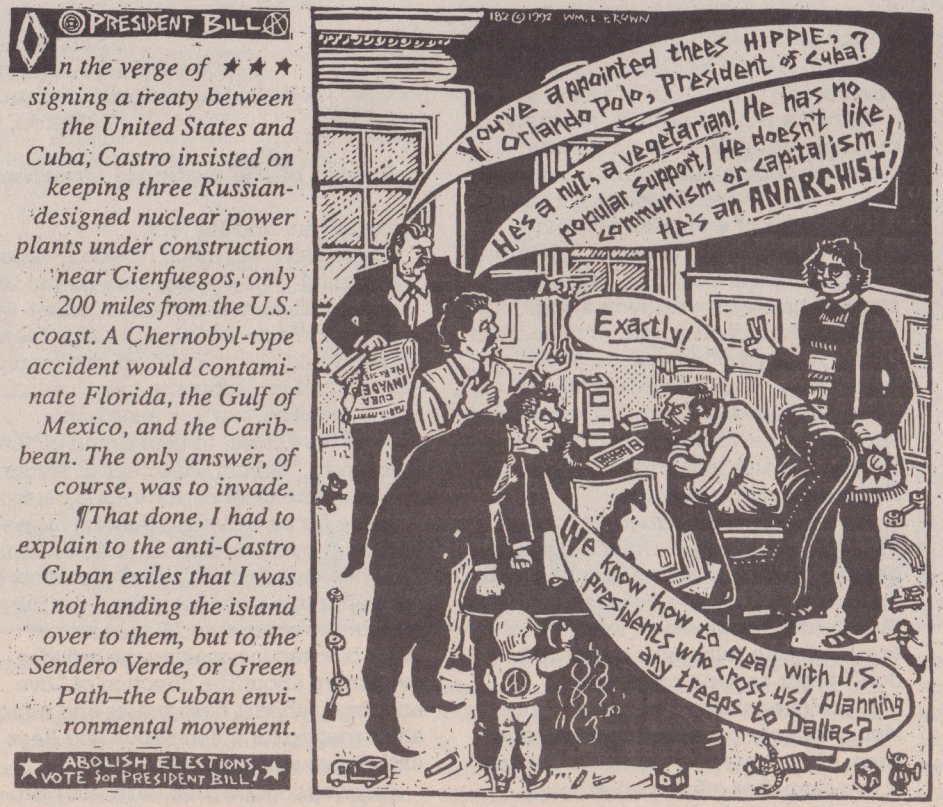
Ecomedia Toronto
PO Box 915, Station F
Toronto, ONT M4Y 2N9

Community Charge
PO Box 57069 Jackson Station
Hamilton, ONT L8P 4W9

MEXICO

Amor y Rabia
Apartado Postal 11-351
C.P. 06101 Mexico, D.F. Mexico

much of their time to analyzing the situation in Cuba that has been distorted too many times (consciously or unconsciously) by those who don't know the reality. The purpose of this article is not



to add another criticism to the bag of profound utopias and speculations that have converted the island of the *Cachitas* and the *Cheos* to guinea pigs. No, there is another purpose.

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AUTHORITARIANISM AND THE LEFT

Through this article I'd like to reach the so called "left." That "left" that obliged us on many occasions to question whether or not were part of it, when we heard about their support for the criminal actions of dictatorships around the world. There are those who follow slogans, those who are being duped, who follow leaders and *caudillos*, followers of men, not ideas. It is to this group that I pose the question: *Aren't you in the least bit suspicious that the same people who supported martial law in Hungary, Poland, and Czecho-Slovakia, and applauded Tian an Mien Square and the Stalinist Coup in the former USSR, are the same people who applaud Castro and his bourgeois clique?*

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How do they fight the development of biotechnologies and yet support it in Cuba? How can they organize for the abolition of the death penalty and prisons and support executions in Cuba with its large prison population? How do they work for an end to Selective Service and for demilitarization of society and then applaud obligatory military service and a militarized Cuban society? How do they fight for gay and lesbian rights and yet support a homophobic government that only a few years ago had work camps for homosexuals (*UMAP/ Unidades Militares de Ayuda a la Producción*), expelled thousands of gays and lesbians (*Mariel-Cayo Hueso* 1980) under the slogan; "Homosexuals out of here!" and does not permit them to belong to the Union of Communist Youth or to study in universities? How do they fight for wimmin's self determination and applaud the macho discourse and the patriarchal dictatorship of Fidel Castro?

While we can put together a long list of contradictions of the so called "left," this is not the intention of the article. The important thing is to make clear the existence of these alternative groups that are revolutionary, anti-authoritarian, anti-capitalist, and independently organized inside of Cuba, all demanding physical and socio-political space and the right of the Cuban people to self-determination and emancipation.

Perhaps, today more than ever, the right of the Cuban people to self-determination and the space that is so necessary to survive as human beings is being threatened by the big time capitalist financiers (from the IMF to Miami capitalists) and by the new Yanqui expansionist threat under the auspices of the "New World Order." And here is the intention of this article: solidarity with the Cuban people. Solidarity not as an abstract concept that is part of a prepackaged ideology, but real solidarity from person to person, worker to worker, ecologist to ecologist, womyn to womyn, homosexual to homosexual, oppressed to oppressed. Concrete solidarity with the people who have gone unrecognized for many years: the people of Cuba.

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while Richard Bofil received a gift of $44,000 to edit his *Siglo XXI* (21st Century) magazine and manipulate from Miami the Pro-Human Rights Committee.

However, opposition groups that would fall under the category of "leftist" like the eco-pacifist movement *Sendero Verde* (Green Path), *Seguidores de Mella* (Followers of Mella) and others that have to operate clandestinely, not only do not receive a penny from anyone, they also try to remain anonymous. Here the self-proclaimed "left" coincides with the interests of Washington and it encourages the silencing of these anti-authoritarian alternatives on the island.

It has been many years since Castro abandoned revolutionary postures (ever since his ascension to power his tendencies towards nationalism and tyranny were evident). His jails were occupied by CIA agents and ultra-right reactionaries, but anarchists, anarcho-syndicalists, libertarian and revolutionary socialists, Trotskyists, Maoists, and social democrats, have also packed his dungeons. This is why it is important to reflect on what is meant by solidarity. We live in times when it becomes necessary to be in solidarity with a Cuba under pressure. But, with whom should we be in solidarity?

An international campaign has been developing to secure petroleum for Cuba. Knowing the needs and realities of the Cuban people, of course there is a need for petroleum to electrify the island, to run the factories, for transportation, for cooking. But petroleum can also move the tanks, those same tanks that can be turned on the population like in Tian an Mien Square. This is why our solidarity should be directed to the Cuban people and not the dictatorial government. It should be with the people that not only suffer the scarcity caused by a criminal blockade and an interventionist threat, but also suffer one of the most despotic dictatorships in the hemisphere.

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SOLIDARITY WITH CUBA
Not With Castro

BY GUSTAVO RODRIGUEZ

A LOT IS WRITTEN THESE DAYS about the Cuban problem: so much that you can find an infinite number of criticisms that includes the most antagonistic of positions. Politicos, philosophers, theologians, anthropologists, historians, Cuban specialists, sociologists, essayists, reporters and charlatans, among others, dedicate much of their time to analyzing the situation in Cuba that has been distorted too many times (consciously or unconsciously) by those who don't know the reality. The purpose of this article is not to add another criticism to the bag of profound utopias and speculations that have converted the island of the *Cachitas* and the *Cheos* to guinea pigs. No, there is another purpose.

When some comrades asked me to write

drels and the authors of their books, for the Pentagon, the CIA, the White House and the bloodthirsty clown who currently resides there. So that through this medium they can understand our position and so that they will know that the Cuban people are not alone, nor will they be.

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PRESIDENT BILL

On the verge of ★★★ signing a treaty between the United States and Cuba, Castro insisted on keeping three Russian-designed nuclear power plants under construction near Cienfuegos, only 200 miles from the U.S. coast. A Chernobyl-type accident would contaminate Florida, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Caribbean. The only answer, of course, was to invade.

¶That done, I had to explain to the anti-Castro Cuban exiles that I was not handing the island over to them, but to the Sendero Verde, or Green Path–the Cuban environmental movement.

★ ABOLISH ELECTIONS VOTE for PRESIDENT BILL! ★

the construction of nuclear power plants and nuclear technology, while they applaud Castro's discourse justifying nuclear technology as an alternative method for economic independence and constructing a nuclear plant of Soviet fabrication in Cienfuegos (remember Chernobyl?) and a reactor in Havana. How do they fight the development of biotechnologies and yet support it in Cuba? How can they organize for the abolition of the death penalty and prisons and support executions in Cuba with its large prison population? How do they work for an end to Selective Service and for demilitarization of society and then applaud obligatory military service and a militarized Cuban society? How do they fight for gay and lesbian rights and yet support a homophobic government that only a few years ago had work camps for homosexuals (*UMAP/ Unidades Militares de Ayuda a la Producción*), expelled thousands of gays and lesbians (*Mariel-Cayo Hueso* 1980) under the slogan; "Homosexuals out of here!" and does not permit them to belong to the Union of Communist Youth or to study in universities? How do they fight for wimmin's self determination and applaud the macho discourse and the patriarchal dictatorship of Fidel Castro?

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Perhaps, today more than ever, the right of the Cuban people to self-determination and the space that is so necessary to survive as human beings is being threatened by the big time capitalist financiers (from the IMF to Miami capitalists) and by the new Yanqui expansionist threat under the auspices of the "New World Order." And here is

The authoritarian regime in Cuba is just as much a reality, as the imperialist threat or the reactionary and right wing exile community. As part of the Yanqui expansionist escalation and the development of a pro — Washington political opposition in Cuba, the National Endowment for Democracy (NED) awarded last year (1991) $462,132 for seven aid projects for dissidents in Cuba, double the 1990 figures. Of the NED money $100,000 was awarded to Jorge Mas and the ultra right-wing Cuban American Foundation to support the International Coalition for Human Rights in Cuba, while Richard Bofil received a gift of $44,000 to edit his *Siglo XXI* (21st Century) magazine and manipulate from Miami the Pro-Human Rights Committee.

However, opposition groups that would fall under the category of "leftist" like the eco-pacifist movement *Sendero Verde* (Green Path), *Seguidores de Mella* (Followers of Mella) and others that have to operate clandestinely, not only do not receive a penny from anyone, they also try to remain anonymous. Here the self-proclaimed "left" coincides with the interests of Washington and it encourages the silencing of these anti-authoritarian alternatives on the island.

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- Everyone at my department at work chokes with fury and bitter amusement at every staff meeting where management squeezes just a little bit more juice out of us.
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- The solidarity in my workplace breaks down a tad when one of my workmates lectures me about what's wrong with "homosexual men." She's a heterosexual Black woman. I'm a white, queer man.

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In order to help bring that about, we *have* to describe the world we see and say what about it enrages us. So that we can describe the world we desire.

Should this ever come about — millions of humans killing their televisions, and feeling swept up with the urgent desire to understand, take control over, and change their lives — some folks will undoubtedly panic. Not all of them will be bank presidents.

In Halberstadt's invocation of the "Big Nurse," I thought I caught a whiff of panic.

Whoever the hell his "Big Nurse" is, she hasn't read the political statement. We're for a feminism that embraces

the street as a Jew....)

Signed,
N K Stein
aka Kedzie Throop

Fan Mail

Love and Rage;

I'm very excited about receiving *Love and Rage* and I want to thank you for including me on your mailing list! I thought your coverage on the People's Park and Tompkins Square defense was excellent — I have been in transit for the last 4 months and had no way of keeping up with the news. The articles "An American Anarchist in Leningrad" and "Soviet Coup" demon-

Where's downtown Ontario? We're stuck in downtown Latin America and we want to shop at Stiches! Please send directions.

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Communist Party of Hamilton (Ontario)

Yo,Gringos!

If you're in downtown Latin America, how come you weren't reading la Seccion en Español, where you would have seen that the correct location of Stiches is downtown Toronto (see "Expropriación Masiva," Año 2, Numero 9, Noviembre de 1991).

The Revolutionary Production Cell (Reconstituted)

¡Network Council Meeting!

March 28 - 29, Hamilton, Ontario

The Network Council is an attempt on the part of the Love and Rage Network to find a way to work together as a network of revolutionary anarchist/ anti-authoritarian activists in a way that is both anarchist and revolutionary. There is little experience in the world of anarchy either with working together on this scale - with people from most parts of North America - or with these numbers - probably 300 people in the Network, at least.

The first meeting of the Network Council will be the weekend of March 28th and 29th in beautiful Hamilton, Ontario. Please come. This will be an opportunity for us to make the whole thing more participatory and collective and could be a fine time for all.

You will probably have already received an information packet about this meeting. Or maybe you've seen the info in the Love and Rage Discussion Bulletin. If you don't have the info you need, call the office at (212) 925 7966 or call the organizers at (416) 525 6725.

Pre Register (or else)

name_____

address_____

city_____ state/prov _____

country_____ telephone_____

Mark any that apply:

( ) There are ____ people coming from my area.

( ) I will need translation into French.

( ) I will need translation into Spanish.

( ) I will need accomodations accessible to the physically challenged.

( ) I will need childcare for ____ children.

cause I want to help build a revolutionary anarchist movement. Because I believe a *social system* stifles joy. (The mildest and most general way to say it.) I believe most humans are not free to choose how we will spend our lives: What effort and time to give to work, what to love, what to idleness. Instead of choice, we live under compulsion. Many, many of those who speak out of turn or step out of line are tortured and killed. The rest of us endure varying amounts of sorrow and tedium. We're a psychologically tough and adaptable species, so we get used to this condition, and don't think about it too much.

Revolutionaries are for talking about it. And turning it on its head.

A social *system*. Shaking free of this system's demands, listen! *demands* that we understand its *particular* qualities. Humans being the kind of animals we are, our understanding comes through *naming*. The *Love and Rage* political statement seeks to *name* specific powers and oppressions.

No one can deny that the compulsion under which we live has different, specific, nameable aspects:

- Everyone at my department at work chokes with fury and bitter amusement at every staff meeting where management squeezes just a little bit more juice out of us.
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off a special interest with each paragraph. These are not planks in an electoral platform. This is an attempt to describe *life*.

But wait! There's something "orthodox," "politically correct," and "anal-retentive" prowling about.

It's the urge *not* to describe life. It's the urge to take the subtle details for granted, *not* to name the *specifics* of the system of compulsion.

It's the urge to not build a movement.

Because that's what it really comes down to. Some people will simply be *opposed* to building a movement. I'm not talking about people who oppose turning *Love and Rage* into a "network," or into an "organization." (I may be one of those people, as soon as I figure it out.) Nor do I mean people who have different views on how to work in coalitions, or about relating to various communities.

I'm talking about people who simply don't envision millions of people in tremendous motion and upheaval; millions of highly-politicized people feeling an urgent stake in the discussions and activities that have suddenly begun to swirl around them.

In order to help bring that about, we *have* to describe the world we see and say what about it enrages us. So that we can describe the world we desire.

Should this ever come about — millions of humans killing their televisions, and feeling swept up with the urgent desire to understand, take control over, and change their lives — some folks will undoubtedly panic. Not all of them will be bank presidents.

In Halberstadt's invocation of the "Big Nurse," I thought I caught a whiff of panic.

Whoever the hell his "Big Nurse" is, she hasn't read the political statement. We're for a feminism that embraces

cumstances of a woman and man creating a child together as the former "getting hooks into" the latter *does* seem consistent with woman-hating.

So let's all say it again: Smash orthodoxy! The orthodox priests of our democratic, capitalistic society tell us we're all equal, and any gripes can be settled in the voting booth. "Politically Correct" is the fashionable, poisonous slogan of that orthodoxy.

It's a lie. There's *already* a dogma, a "PC," in this society. Orthodoxy Number One: Naming power is taboo. Cut against the grain, be accused of being "strident," "dogmatic." Even "anal retentive." The folks who own the boat don't want anyone rocking it.

If you're against naming our oppressions, that we may better understand them, then you're for continuing slavery. If you slam that effort as "orthodox," when it's actually about *defying* orthodoxy, you're as dishonest as they come.

One last thing: Kedzie Throop is my preposterous pseudonym. As I state in the "Trippy Dude" piece, I am a queer man. Like Halberstadt, I write as a Jew. (Chew gum as a Jew, walk down the street as a Jew....)

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Dear Lovers and Ragers,

There has been much (needed) debate concerning your project, but I try not to make decisions without direct experience or contact, although at times I feel I should write your project off as a manipulative leftist project in the guise of anarchy. I've talked to a few anarchists around here closer to your brand of "Left anarchism," whom are totally in favour of a separate Québec state. One person went so far as to defend (justify) his nationalism by citing Bakunin as a nationalist. These full-fledged anarcho-statists (a schizophrenic state it appears) are fully supportive of *Love and Rage* and its black bloc tactics, making me wonder even more about the direction of *Love and Rage* when it has statists and nationalists rooting for it. Isn't *Love and Rage* anti-statist and anti-nationalist?

Anyways, good luck with your project. I hope your aim is true.

Jamie McGowan
Montréal, PQ

Commuiqués y Corecciónes

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He writes that my October 1991 article, "In Defense of the Political Statement," (Vol. 2 No. 8), "defends the movement for Political Correctness," and that I and the other "anal retentives of the world decry those who speak out of turn or question orthodoxy, usually regarding sexism or racism."

Against the "Trippy Dude," a fellow whose character I embellish for argument, Halberstadt invokes another archetype, the "Big Nurse," who "has everything nailed down. She admonishes even queers to assimilate to her order — under the banner of feminism."

Knowing what I'm like when I become cross, my roommates quickly took away my Play-Doh and replaced the jars on the mantle, under the gilt-framed, sepia-toned photos of Freud's left and right buttocks.

All together now: Speak out of turn! Question orthodoxy!

Question orthodoxy? Must be gettin' soft, like my Play-Doh. *Smash* orthodoxy, is what we mean.

I helped found this newspaper because I want to help build a revolutionary anarchist movement. Because I believe a *social system* stifles joy. (The mildest and most general way to say it.) I believe most humans are not free to choose how we will spend our lives: What effort and time to give to work, what to love, what to idleness. Instead of choice, we live under compulsion. Many, many of those who speak out of turn or step out of line are tortured and killed. The rest of us endure varying amounts of sorrow and tedium. We're a psychologically tough and adaptable species, so we get used to this condition, and don't think about it too much.

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I've heard the forgoing termed a "complicated nexus of interlocking and overlapping oppressions." Concisely, it's one snarly ball-o-twine. Unsnarling it demands, listen! *demands* being specific and clear.

This mild little statement that has taken so much heat has ten little sections: It has an introduction that says we "reject prepackaged ideologies" and expect "the radical and ongoing revision of our ideas as a necessary part of any revolutionary process."

And it has nine little sections that say we "are," and "are anti-." These are not a "laundry list." This has nothing to do with the oppression of left-handed people, as one writer has suggested. Nor with underwear maintenance, as another muttered, in these very pages.

We're revolutionary. We're anti-statist. We're anti-capitalist. We're anti-racist. We're anti-imperialist. We're anti-sexist. We support queer liberation. We're anti-ageist. We're eco-anarchist.

Bored? I'm not. Each statement means something. We're not buying off a special interest with each paragraph. These are not planks in an electoral platform. This is an attempt to describe *life*.

But wait! There's something "orthodox," "politically correct," and "anal-retentive" prowling about.

It's the urge *not* to describe life. It's the urge to take the subtle details for granted, *not* to name the *specifics* of the system of compulsion.

It's the urge to not build a movement.

Because that's what it really comes down to. Some people will simply be *opposed* to building a movement. I'm not talking about people who oppose turning *Love and Rage* into a "network," or into an "organization." (I may be one of those people, as soon as I figure it out.) Nor do I mean people who have different views on how to work in coalitions, or about relating to various communities.

I'm talking about people who simply don't envision millions of people in tremendous motion and upheaval; millions of highly-politicized people feeling an urgent stake in the discussions and activities that have suddenly begun to swirl around them.

queer liberation, and an anti-capitalism that understands feminism. And so on.

The Big Nurse, I suspect, is Halberstadt's way of saying, "See? Women can be just as bad as men." So what?

What sex is the deity the pious worship? Who wrote the dictionaries we've been using for hundreds of years? What sex are most doctors, even women's doctors? Who rapes whom? In such a monstrous, ubiquitous *system*, locating blame is entirely beside the point.

The *Love and Rage* political statement makes the mild and trite observation that male supremacy *exists*.

Evidently even this is enough to throw some people into a panic.

What's so scary, Mitchell Halberstadt? Why ask, in your letter, what if the Trippy Dude hasn't abandoned his wife and kid? What if he "left no hooks for a woman to get into him?" Your words.

Only if a movement has an analysis of male supremacy, can it debate whether such a statement is misogynist as hell or not. Describing the circumstances of a woman and man creating a child together as the former "getting hooks into" the latter *does* seem consistent with woman-hating.

So let's all say it again: Smash orthodoxy! The orthodox priests of our democratic, capitalistic society tell us we're all equal, and any gripes can be settled in the voting booth. "Politically Correct" is the fashionable, poisonous slogan of that orthodoxy.

It's a lie. There's *already* a dogma, a "PC," in this society. Orthodoxy Number One: Naming power is taboo. Cut against the grain, be accused of being "strident," "dogmatic." Even "anal retentive." The folks who own the boat don't want anyone rocking it.

If you're against naming our oppressions, that we may better understand them, then you're for continuing slavery. If you slam that effort as "orthodox," when it's actually about *defying* orthodoxy, you're as dishonest as they come.

One last thing: Kedzie Throop is my preposterous pseudonym. As I state in the "Trippy Dude" piece, I am a queer man. Like Halberstadt, I write as a Jew. (Chew gum as a Jew, walk down the street as a Jew....)

strate what a changing world this is and how "the (brave) New World Order" may be a pipe dream after all. The chance for anarchists to benefit is *now*. I also like your regular features — Anarchist Black Cross and Anarchist Youth Federation. The article entitled "Black Liberation and Anti-Semitism" was much appreciated by the brothers I showed it to in here. "In Defense of the Political Statement" and "Revolutionary Anarchism: Part of the Left?" were very insightful and I look forward to similar articles in the future. And finally, your decision to print articles in Spanish has been very helpful to the Spanish brothers — Mexican, Cuban, Colombian — who are doing time in here. *Love and Rage* — keep up the excellent work! Your effort is much appreciated.

In Solidarity @,
James Daniel Armstrong
Federal Correctional Institution
Littleton, CO

Return of the National Question

Dear Lovers and Ragers,

There has been much (needed) debate concerning your project, but I try not to make decisions without direct experience or contact, although at times I feel I should write your project off as a manipulative leftist project in the guise of anarchy. I've talked to a few anarchists around here closer to your brand of "Left anarchism," whom are totally in favour of a separate Québec state. One person went so far as to defend (justify) his nationalism by citing Bakunin as a nationalist. These full-fledged anarcho-statists (a schizophrenic state it appears) are fully supportive of *Love and Rage* and its black bloc tactics, making me wonder even more about the direction of *Love and Rage* when it has statists and nationalists rooting for it. Isn't *Love and Rage* anti-statist and anti-nationalist?

Anyways, good luck with your project. I hope your aim is true.

Jamie McGowan
Montréal, PQ

Commuiqués y Corecciónes

Hey!

Where's downtown Ontario? We're

Most *Love and Rage* supporters are active in efforts to change the world above and beyond publishing *Love and Rage*. Supporters are involved in a broad range of local groups and non-groups, publications of various sorts, and issue networks and organizations that work nationally and internationally, and they often write about their activities in *Love and Rage*.

The Love and Rage Network is not a closed circle of friends. If you are in general agreement with the Political Statement and are comfortable pledging your time, energy or money to our joint effort, you can become part of the Network and participate fully in the decision making process. Ask the person who sold or gave you the paper, or write to:

Love and Rage
Box 3 Prince St Station
New York, NY 10012
(212) 925 7966

Coordinating Group
Audrey, Minneapolis, MN
Brian, Williamstown, MA
Dan, Brooklyn, NY
Gustavo, Miami, FL
Jacynthe, Vanier, Ontario
Johnnie, Atlanta, GA
Kieran, St. Paul, MN
Laurie, Chicago, IL
Liz, Boston, MA
Matt, Facilitator, New York, NY

Production Group:
Rachel, Lisa, Gene, Dema, Dan, Dave, Jessica, Jane, Chris, Christopher, Chris, Bob, Matt, Jodi, Gabriel, Joanna, Paulina, Dylan, Gustavo, Ana, (special thanks to Dan and Nick)

Translations:
Alvaro, Gustavo, Nina, Eugenio, Kathy, Astrid, Leandro.

We try to go to press by the second weekend of each month, so we ask that submissions be in the office by the first of the month. We try to mail the issues by the third weekend of each month, though that is often not possible because we don't have the money. Some months we produce an 8 page "Broadsheet" edition instead of our regular 16 page full size edition. We do this because we think getting a paper to you every month is more important than waiting until we have enough money to do a full edition. If you are having trouble getting the paper please call the office.

Boring Disclaimer:
Look. Articles, letters, Notes of Revolt, and other things printed in *Love and Rage* do not necessarily represent the opinions or views of the Production Group, Coordinating Group, Network Council, Conference or anyone involved in the Love and Rage Network. We print a variety of articles for a variety of reasons, including articles we don't agree with because we believe that they are interesting or provocative. So there.

Didn't Subvert

Dear *Love and Rage*,

The December edition was great all the way around. But, I have to protest the *graphic* that accompanied Richard's article about porn. I gather that the torn image was somehow an attempt to subvert or deconstruct the image. You failed. Porn photography is heavily encoded with the male objectifying gaze. It is quite a task to subvert these visual codes; I know 'cuz I tried for a long time when I was in art school. I'm done with art school now and have to deal everyday with male supremacist propaganda. I don't need to see it in *Love and Rage*.

With Love (and Rage),
Paul Toupé
Minneapolis, MN

Shouldn't Be Vanguardist

Love and Rage:

There are a few things that bothered me that i've seen in a recent issue of *Love and Rage*. One was a paragraph "Goof-Fest Planned" on the AYF page in the November 1991 issue. The sentence "This gathering will hopefully hammer out all the arguments within the AYF, like whether or not we need a political statement, the AYF decision making structure, etc." That sounds like centralization to me. Is AYF going to be the No Business As Usual of the Love and Rage Network? Or how 'bout Minneapolis ARA using *Love and Rage* as propaganda?

Dave Lawrence and Chris Day sent me a form letter about them touring in which they stated their purposes; these included: 1) "to talk about our general perspective on organizing for an anarchist revolution," (interesting choice of rhetoric), 2) to discuss the projects of the Love and Rage Network — the Presidential Election Boycott and the Anti-Racist Summer Project; 3) "to encourage people to actively participate in the Love and Rage Network" (read: recruitment), and 4) to raise money. Concerning the projects

gaceiros in France? They vandalize prison sites and destroy materials of companies who participate in the prison industry — pour sugar in the concrete to prevent hardening, blow up trucks, steal plans, destroy consoles and even beat up a prison architect. That's direct action without political pretense. There's a lot of activism concerning political prisoners going on. How many of these groups (especially Freedom Now) gave a fuck when a black man in Georgia (i can't remember his name) was executed last year for blowing a pig away in a shoot out, on his first offense burglary? I guess that wasn't political enough. (Did ABC write of it?)

But back to the article. There are a few quotes which reveal the author's mentality: "he stated to applause, 'We guarantee if you give our youth a proper education, they will not ['run wild']," Kedzie quoting Akil al-Jundi at a Committee to End the Marion Lockdown conference. What an ageist prick! Schools and prisons have some remarkable similarities. Personally, i want to live in a society where people run wild. That running wild is used as a word substitute for social violence is ironic for one concerning himself with prison abolition. Trying to write of the causes of social violence would be ridiculous here, but I'll say that educa-

as much as my mother does and sounds as patronizing as my last employer. With such attitudes the only movement Kedzie's built up is one of the bowels.

Perhaps if the names, locations, addresses and phone numbers of corporations who produce shit to make prisons (and the names of architects too) are listed in *Love and Rage*, then anonymous/autonomous people and/or groups will have more information on which to take action.

Avram

Hide the Play-Doh

Love and Rage

The fax came in while I was industriously moulding little phallic and orific blobs out of Play-Doh. It was a copy of Mitchell Halberstadt's letter, printed in January 1992 (Vol. 3 No. 1).

DISCUSSION BULLETIN

Available for some stamps from:
Love and Rage Supporters
PO Box 581354
Minneapolis, MN 55458-1354

porn sector of the anarchist community, but this is one anarcha-feminist who is not pleased.

I ask myself, what is it about this topic that makes it so controversial and makes so many defensive? What stake do people have in defending pornography? It is a billion dollar exploitative industry that shows no signs of slowing while I am just one angry womyn —

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Matt, Facilitator, New York, NY

Production Group:
Rachel, Lisa, Gene, Dema, Dan, Dave, Jessica, Jane, Chris, Christopher, Chris, Bob,

Fine Article, Offensive Graphic

Dear *Love and Rage*,

I realize it might have been difficult to locate or create a graphic that would fit the "Porn in Flames" article. However, I was really pissed off when I saw actual pornography used — did you have to *buy* a magazine in order to get that picture? Did you think ripping it in half and then basically putting it back together again actually took away from its offensive appearance? Who makes the decisions? Possibly, instead of contributing to the excessive amount of time we are forced to see pornographic images shoved in our faces from every direction, *Love and Rage* could hire, or pay per graphic, a skilled artist to match up a more appropriate image (perhaps handmade). Women and men could be more inspired by a graphic of a woman powerfully resisting (throwing rocks through a porn shop), etc. Otherwise, please leave the text alone next time even if it is a long article like that one was. It was good enough to stand by itself.

Lisa Simpson
Minneapolis, MN

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gaceiros in France? They vandalize prison sites and destroy materials of companies who participate in the prison industry — pour sugar in the concrete to prevent hardening, blow up trucks, steal plans, destroy consoles and even beat up a prison architect. That's

activists should...Readers should...Another article should...activists should..." and my favorite: "*Love and Rage* supporters, as a multi-cultural revolutionary grouping (hah, hah, hah, hahhh), should..." Kedzie says should as much as my mother does and sounds as patronizing as my last employer. With such attitudes the only movement Kedzie's built up is one of the bowels.

Perhaps if the names, locations, addresses and phone numbers of corpora-

Letters

Disclaim That Disclaimer

Dear *Love and Rage*,

What's up folks? Why the editorial prefacing Richard Blake's article on pornography? You already have the Boring Disclaimer; no need to bore us again. One of the reasons I've respected the newspaper is its ability to not editorialize contributors. Stating that Blake's ideas are but one side of the issue and welcoming other viewpoints is not only redundant (remember, as anarchists we don't have all the answers and we need to have discussion on many issues) but negates the political importance of his article. You may have placated the pro-porn sector of the anarchist community, but this is one anarcha-feminist who is not pleased.

I ask myself, what is it about this topic that makes it so controversial and makes so many defensive? What stake do people have in defending pornography? It is a billion dollar exploitative industry that shows no signs of slowing while I am just one angry womyn — why am I the one that's threatening? It comes down to how much we will challenge and how much we will cling to protect. With porn, it's sad to see that patriarchy gets protected to the point where anarchists uphold misogyny and "free" market capitalism.

I applaud Richard Blake for his courage in submitting his article. It opens up the much needed discussion on pornography. Let's just make sure that we welcome those that support Blake's ideas as well as those who have other views.

Love and Struggle,
Juliana
Boston, MA

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I realize it might have been difficult to locate or create a graphic that would fit the "Porn in Flames" article. However, I was really pissed off when I saw actual pornography used — did you have to *buy* a magazine in order to get that picture? Did you think ripping it in half and then basically putting it back together again actually took away from its offensive appearance? Who makes the decisions? Possibly, instead of contributing to the excessive amount of time we are forced to see pornographic images shoved in our faces from every direction, *Love and Rage* could hire, or pay per graphic, a skilled artist to match up a more appropriate image (perhaps handmade). Women and men could be more inspired by a graphic of a woman powerfully resisting (throwing rocks through a porn shop), etc. Otherwise, please leave the text alone next time even if it is a long article like that one was. It was good enough to stand by itself.

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of Love and Rage — the Anti-Racist project seems cool and relevant to the city i live in; the Prez boycott sounds as ridiculous as boycotting the Super Bowl — more than 70% of the population don't vote, why bother turning it into a political act — fuck politics/politicians. It's a placebo issue. What bothers me *isn't* the issues themselves, but that the touring pair lack the sense to ask people in the places they visit what things are relevant to their communities and how the Love and Rage Network might assist them. But i guess it's more important for individuals and not-so-autonomous groups to serve the collective.

In the accompanying "Have Anarchy, Will Travel" Matt Black had the chutzpah to compare such a tour to those of Emma Goldman. She was an agitator, but certainly did no recruitment for any organization. Don't get me wrong, i'm not against organization, but the Love and Rage Network is vanguardish — all vanguards are inherently authoritarian.

What i really wanted to respond to was the article "Political Prisons." The writer suggests that because we cannot stop it from being built, people work to make Florence less bad. Has Kedzie Throop ever heard of Os Cantion both directly and indirectly perpetuates it. School is one of the primary institutions of cultural conditioning — not in what we're taught, but that we're taught at all — authority/slave, powerful/powerless mentalities form. Kedzie talks of building a prison abolition movement. Direct action is inspiring, the demands and ponderings of ageist leftoid rhetoriticians is nauseating. What am i to make of such sentences as, "At this time, few *revolutionary groups* have a clear *program* for that [reducing social violence] (my emphasis)." Sounds like commie talk to me. How about this one: "Such a movement would clearly *say to youth* 'Don't join that gang and prey upon people in your own community, join the people in your community in a genuinely revolutionary movement...(blah, blah, blah)" Join with the vanguard and be down for the whole damn thing — FUCK OFF! One of the man reasons people join gangs is because the gang *is* community. "White activists should...Readers should...Another article should...activists should..." and my favorite: "*Love and Rage* supporters, as a multi-cultural revolutionary grouping (hah, hah, hah, hahhh), should..." Kedzie says should

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